

THE JERUSALEM POST

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stocks:
IBM leads
recovery

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Israel formally denies involvement in \$2.5 billion arms plot; no aid to plotters

Five held in Bermuda face deportation to U.S.

By AVI HOFFMAN in Jerusalem and WOLF BLITZER in Washington
Five men, including four Israelis, charged in the U.S. with participation in a \$2.5 billion arms smuggling plot, are likely to be deported from Bermuda to the U.S., their lawyer told *The Jerusalem Post* last night. The five are being held in Bermuda because of alleged immigration law infringements.

Israel has emphatically denied any government involvement in the alleged plot to smuggle advanced weaponry, including warplanes to Iran.

The Israelis are Avraham Baram, a major-general in the reserves, and Gurriel Eisenberg (the Eisenbergs are Jerusalemites - Israel was formerly the head of the Zion Insurance Company's Jerusalem branch). Another, William Northrop holds dual Israeli-American citizenship; the fifth man is Samuel Evans, a London-based American lawyer.

Bermuda advocate Geoffrey Bell, representing the five men, told *The Post* that they had been remanded in custody on "relatively minor immigration infringements" after refusing to re-

board their flight to the U.S. The men had apparently been informed that indictments awaited them in the U.S.

Bell said that the men were due to appear in court in two week's time and that trial had been fixed for July 1.

No extradition request has been filed by the U.S. authorities. But Bell told *The Post* that the Bermudan attorney-general had indicated that the men would be deported to the U.S. and that extradition proceedings would therefore not be necessary.

In Israel, Defence Ministry Director-General Menahem Merom thoroughly checked the reports of Israeli involvement in the smuggling plot and found that "Israel has no direct, indirect, or tacit connection or involvement in the matter," according to an official statement issued on Wednesday. The individuals concerned had apparently acted on their own, the statement added.

Meron took the unusual step of by-passing normal diplomatic channels to directly assure U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Robert Flatten that Israel was not involved.

On Wednesday, U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost called Israel's ambassador in Washington Meir Rosenne to the State Department to give Israel's explanation.

Iran, too, has strongly denied involvement in the arms plot, according to a report on Wednesday in the *Kayhan* newspaper of Teheran.

Israeli officials in Washington have clearly been embarrassed by the arrest of the Israelis.

From his jail in Bermuda, Baram telephoned the Israeli Embassy's military attaché, Aluf Uri Simchoni, on Tuesday asking for assistance. Israeli sources in Washington said that this phone call should not be seen as representing any Israeli involvement in the alleged arms ring.

They maintained that Baram had simply pointed out that he did not know any lawyers in Bermuda. Simchoni, who knows Baram personally, reportedly helped him find a lawyer. But Israeli sources insisted that the government would extend no assistance to the Israelis held in Bermuda.

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Gaddafi reacts by expelling journalists

Western Europe shifts to sharper line on Libya

Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies

Western Europe has begun a political and economic crackdown on Libya, with further measures, coordinated with the U.S., in the pipeline. Libya has responded by expelling hundreds of Western journalists.

The announced measures came days after the U.S. bombings of Libyan targets, which had elicited little enthusiasm in Western European capitals and outright condemnation in widespread street demonstrations.

EEC justice and interior ministers meeting in The Hague with U.S. Attorney-General Edwin Meese agreed yesterday to exchange information on terrorism with the U.S.

West Germany, Spain and Denmark, meanwhile, have ordered the Libyan people's bureaux (embassies) in their capitals to substantially reduce their staffs. Bonn ordered 22 of the 41 Libyan diplomatic staff to leave West Germany within seven days, while Spain announced that it would expel several Libyan residents. Denmark yesterday announced that three of the seven diplomats stationed in Copenhagen would be expelled.

The expulsion orders followed an EEC decision earlier this week to restrict the Libyan diplomatic presence and activity in their capitals.

Bonn has restricted Libyan diplomatic activity in other ways, including turning back Libyan diplomats stationed in East Berlin wishing to cross to West Berlin.

In its first economic measure against Libya, the EEC on Wednesday decided to remove it from the list of North African countries eligible for subsidized butter exports.

The White House announced that it was "pleased" with the Western European sanctions against Libyan diplomats and said that President Reagan would ask the leaders of the Western industrial powers at a meeting in Tokyo next month to adopt still more energetic measures against international terrorism.

Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinoz has called for a high-level all-Europe conference to decide on methods to combat terrorism. But he said Austria had no intention of imposing sanctions on Libya. He said there was no proof of Libyan involvement in recent attacks in Europe, including last December's attack in the Vienna international airport in which four persons died.

Britain announced that it had detained 22 Libyan nationals, mostly students, and intended to expel them.

Spain said it would expel at least

three Libyans in line with the decision taken by EC foreign ministers. The state news agency EFE reported from Madrid last night.

Libya yesterday ordered some 200 newly-arrived Western journalists to leave the country. But the extent of the expulsions was still unclear last night, with a West German spokesman saying that Tripoli had retracted the expulsion orders.

According to the West German Foreign Ministry spokesman, Bonn's ambassador to Libya, Rolf Enders, had notified Bonn that the Libyan government had said that the journalists could, after all, remain.

Officially, Libya reacted with only mild condemnation of the European sanctions, saying that it reserved the right to take "appropriate measures" in the future.

A French spokesman yesterday denied a press report that the American F-111 bombers had overflown French territory on their flight from Britain in last week's attack on Libyan targets.

French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac said that France would react firmly if Libya or any other country threatened France's allies in North Africa, such as Tunisia.

He said France would desist from military cooperation with Libya so long as there were suspicions of Libyan involvement in terrorism. Chirac reiterated French "solidarity" with its allies, "and with the American ally in particular."

'Syria helped Libyan pilots foil army mutiny'

Post Mideast Staff

Syrian pilots helped the Libyan Air Force put down an army mutiny against Muammar Gaddafi after last week's U.S. airstrike, but the Libyan leader is now only a "figurehead" sharing power with a five-man military junta, according to U.S. and British press reports.

The *New York Post* on Wednesday quoted a U.S. government official as saying that Syrian-piloted planes had bombed rebel Libyan army units at Tarhuma, south of Tripoli, and at Derra and Benghazi.

It said the Syrian pilots had refused to fly during the U.S. air strike and in clashes in January with U.S. planes in the Gulf of Sidra. The paper said Syrian President Hafez Assad has sent some 50 elite pilots to Libya after terrorist attacks at Rome and Vienna airports in December, to meet possible U.S. reprisals against Libya.

The *Times* said in London on Wednesday that Gaddafi was now sharing power with his top aide, Abdel Salam Jalloud, Deputy Chief of Staff Hweldi Hamed, army commander Abu Bokke and army Inspector-General Mustafa Karoubi.

No 'Falklands effect' for Thatcher - Page 3

France has deployed batteries of Roland-1 and Roland-2 missiles at military installations along its Mediterranean coast following increased tension after the U.S. strike on Libya, defence ministry sources in Paris said last night.

The missiles were deployed at the beginning of the week as part of an "overall vigilance" plan.

The only Western ally to have

Arab world urged to help eliminate 'scourge' of terror

Reagan won't rule out attacks on Iran, Syria

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

WASHINGTON. - President Reagan says the U.S. will not rule out military retaliation against Iran and Syria - along the same lines as against Libya - if those states are firmly linked to terrorist acts.

In an interview with newspaper columnists released on Wednesday, Reagan said the U.S. "must have the same policy" as far as all "state sponsored terrorism" is concerned.

But Reagan clearly sought to differentiate between Libya and the other two countries. He pointed out that "it is much more difficult to trace the source of terrorism sponsored by others than it is with Libya."

"But yes," he continued, "if there's evidence and we can have the irrefutable evidence that we've had with him (Gaddafi), why, yes, I think we should do that. State-sponsored terrorism is a form of warfare, and you just can't sit by and let somebody else declare war on you and pretend that you're still at peace."

Reagan again said that the U.S. had hard evidence of direct Libyan involvement in international terrorism. He

warned that the U.S. would strike Libya again if it continued to undertake terrorist acts.

Earlier in the day, during a speech in Washington before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Reagan appealed to the Arab world to cooperate with the U.S. and other Western nations in the struggle against terrorism.

"And let no one mistake this for a conflict between the Western democracies and the Arab world," he said, in referring to the recent U.S. air strike against Libya.

"Those who condone making war by cowardly attacks on unarmed third parties, including women and children, are but a tiny minority," he said. "Arab nations themselves have been forced to endure savage terrorist attacks from this minority. We hope and pray the Arab world will join with us to eliminate this scourge of civilization."

Administration officials said Reagan's remarks were aimed at trying to ease the recent strain in U.S.-Arab relations resulting from the attacks against Libya. The Americans have been anxious to draw a clear distinction between Libya and other more moderate Arab states which maintain close ties with Washington.

UN file branded Waldheim a criminal wanted for murder

By WALTER RUBY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. - The secret UN file on former secretary-general Kurt Waldheim obtained recently by Israel, Austria and the U.S., listed Waldheim in the category of Nazi war criminals whose offences were so serious that they should be brought to trial, a source has said.

The source told *The Jerusalem Post* that the 1948 UN War Crimes Commission file on Waldheim obtained by Ambassador Binyamin Netanyahu and the representatives of the U.S. and Austria was a summary of charges against Waldheim taken principally from Yugoslav government files. It branded Waldheim a "war criminal" wanted for "murder" for his alleged role in reprisals by German forces against Yugoslav partisans and civilians.

According to the source, the UN

War Crimes Commission Waldheim file was signed by representatives of the U.S., Britain, France and Czechoslovakia, which was still a non-Communist state when the file was prepared in 1947. The file identifies Waldheim as being on the top

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priority "A" list of alleged war criminals.

The classification "A" for "Accused," was the commission's most serious war criminal designation. Other categories were: "S" for suspects who appeared to be guilty of war crimes but against whom there was insufficient evidence; "E" for adjourned cases, used later for pur-

(Continued on Back Page)



Debris is swept up outside British Airways offices in London's Oxford Street yesterday after an early morning explosion wrecked the building. (AFP telephoto)

Oxford Street reopens hours after British Airways blast

LONDON (AP). - A powerful bomb exploded early yesterday outside the ground floor office of state-owned British Airways in Oxford Street, and touched off a fire. Few people were on the usually teeming shopping thoroughfare because of the pre-dawn hour and only one passerby had to be treated for shock.

American Airlines and American Express have counters in the British Airways office but a spokesman for Scotland Yard police headquarters said the British airline had apparently been the target of the bombers.

The blast extensively damaged the airline office and blew out many windows in the seven-floor building and surrounding stores.

Police cordoned off Oxford Street to search for other devices, snarling rush-hour traffic. The street reopened seven hours after the explosion, but the area around British Airways was sealed off as forensic experts combed the debris.

Patrick Crown, 28, who runs a coffee shop in Oxford Street, said: "One minute I was getting things ready, and the next there was a massive bang like thunder."

"At first, because it was raining, I thought it was thunder. But then, within a few minutes, police and firemen appeared and told me there had been an explosion. The streets had been very quiet for some time, and I don't remember seeing anybody walking about."

Police said they closed Victoria Station, London's busiest train terminal, and evacuated the surrounding area for several minutes yesterday morning because of a bomb scare which turned out to be a hoax.

Gabbai is leading candidate for A-G

Jerusalem Post Staff

Meir Gabbai, the Director-General of the Ministry of Justice, is understood to be the leading candidate for the post of attorney-general.

Attorney-General Yitzhak Zamir several weeks ago announced his intention of resigning after eight years in the post.

It is understood that the choice of Gabbai was agreed upon between outgoing Justice Minister Moshe Nissim and Prime Minister Peres. He was considered a compromise

candidate after Peres had rejected Nissim's proposal of former Treasury director-general Ya'acov Ne'eman and Nissim had rejected Peres's choice of Yosef Cazanower, a former legal adviser in the Defence Ministry under Peres and former director-general of the Foreign Ministry under the late Moshe Dayan.

It is not yet clear whether newly-appointed Justice Minister Yitzhak Moda'i will support Gabbai's candidacy.

1 dead, 20 wounded in blasts at Syrian port

Post Middle East Staff

Three explosions rocked the area of the Syrian port of Tartus Wednesday night killing one person and wounding 20, the Christian Voice of Lebanon said yesterday.

The Phalangist station said the first explosion occurred 20 metres from a Syrian intelligence headquarters, wounding eight persons. The second bomb exploded at a parking lot near a Ba'ath party headquarters, killing one person and wounding 12.

A third blast occurred near a railway station, but there were no immediate details of casualties.

Syrian intelligence units surrounded the area of the explosions, raided homes and arrested 73 persons, including Syrian army soldiers, the radio said. It said soldiers were searched at roadblocks, and Syrian intelligence men raided the Palestinian Yarmuk camp near Damascus and arrested 15 persons, including two Fatah officers.

Giant hail stones kill six in China

PEKING (AP). - Six people died, one person was missing and 510 were injured when giant hail storms pounded southern Guangdong province over the weekend, the *People's Daily* said yesterday.

Winds blowing at force 7-8, occasionally strengthening to force 11,

battered the regions of Foshan, Huiyang and Maoqing between April 18-22, leaving 300 homes in ruins and causing damage estimated at \$3.13 million, the paper's overseas edition noted.

The largest hailstone weighed 60 kilograms, the report said.



Otto Preminger, 'Exodus' director, dies at 79

NEW YORK (Reuter). - Otto Preminger, the film producer who directed such Hollywood greats as John Wayne, James Stewart, Paul Newman and Frank Sinatra, and made "Exodus," the film about Israel's struggle for independence, died of cancer on Wednesday at his home. He was 79.

Preminger, who was born into a Jewish family, fled his native Austria because of the Nazis.

Although he never won an academy award, some of his films - such as "Forever Amber," "Exodus" with Paul Newman, "Anatomy of a Murder," and "Porgy and Bess" - were critically acclaimed.

After a short career in the New York theatre, he went to Hollywood where he soon moved behind the camera and his films included "Laura," which starred Gene Tierney and Dana Andrews, "In Harm's Way" with John Wayne, "Advice and Consent" about Washington, and in 1979, "The Human Factor," an adaptation of Graham Greene's book about a spy with divided loyalties.

He was one of the first to deal with the then taboo subject of drug addiction in the 1956 film "The Man with the Golden Arm," with Frank Sinatra.

The New York Times

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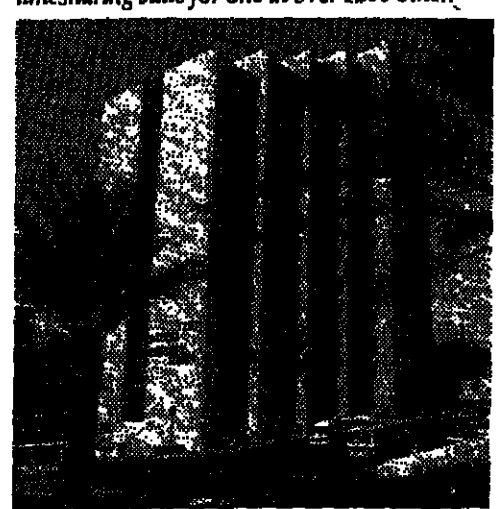
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	24.4.86	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	6-13	16	64	Clear
BRUSSELS	6-13	15	59	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
COLOGNE	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
GENEVA	6-13	16	64	Clear
BERLIN	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
STUTTGART	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
MUNICH	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
PARIS	6-13	16	64	Clear
ROME	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
NAPLES	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
BARCELONA	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
MADRID	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
LISBON	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
ATHENS	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
TEL AVIV	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
TORONTO	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
NEW YORK	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
LOS ANGELES	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
HONOLULU	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
SYDNEY	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
MELBOURNE	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
PERTH	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
WELLINGTON	4-10	17	63	Cloudy
AUCKLAND	4-10	17	63	Cloudy

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.

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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy to clear, with high temperatures and low humidity.

Outlook for Shabbat: Same.

	Yesterday's	Today's	Max
Jerusalem	16	13-27	77
Golan	16	13-27	77
Nahariya	16	13-27	77
Safed	16	13-27	77
Haifa Port	16	13-27	77
Tiberias	16	13-27	77
Nazareth	16	13-27	77
Afula	16	13-27	77
Shomron	16	13-27	77
Jericho	16	13-27	77
Beersheva	16	13-27	77
Eilat	16	13-27	77

Marriage

David Brauner, son of Erwin and Erna Brauner of Nahariya, and Ruth Morris, daughter of Samuel and the late Ann Morris of London, were married in Jerusalem on Monday, April 21, 1986.

Katyusha remains found in Galilee

KIRYAT SHMONA. — The remains of several Katyusha rockets fired at the Galilee Panhandle and western Galilee were found on Wednesday. The 107mm. rockets had apparently been fired from outside the security zone in Lebanon.

There were no injuries and no damage was caused.

Security forces have stepped up their alert to block any terrorist attempts over the holiday.

Chief of General Staff Moshe Levy and O/C Northern Command Uri Orr on Wednesday celebrated the order with troops and civilians along the northern border.

C-o-L talks to resume today

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN

TEL AVIV. — Representatives of the Histadrut and the employers are due to meet this morning to resume negotiations on the cost-of-living allowance, having failed to reach an agreement before the holidays.

The Histadrut has decided to postpone declaring a nation-wide labour dispute in the hope that the C-o-L allowance agreement will be signed early next week.

The main bone of contention is over the amount of the C-o-L allowance to be given to the workers. The Histadrut insists on compensation of 70-90 per cent, beginning when the index rises by 6 per cent. But the employers want the allowance to be paid only from an index rise of 8 per cent.

HOME AND FOREIGN NEWS

UN rejects Israeli request for war files access

UNITED NATIONS. — Israel's charge d'affaires at the UN has said that since the world body had turned down a request for access to all UN war crimes files, Israel will ask for copies of hundreds of specific files of suspected war criminals believed still alive.

Yochanan Bein told reporters on Wednesday that a general Israeli request for access to all the files had been turned down a couple of weeks ago.

As a result, he said, the Israeli

government would present the UN with hundreds of names.

"We have decided to gather the list of war criminals we have and present the list to the United Nations and ask them to look into their archives, and if these people have UN files we want to see them," Bein said.

There are 40,000 case files in the UN archives, handed over when the UN War Crimes Commission disbanded in 1948.

The UN has a rule that only member governments may have access to

files which are specifically asked for by name.

The World Jewish Congress filed a writ in a New York court on Wednesday against the U.S. Army and the State Department to obtain access to documents on former UN secretary-general Kurt Waldheim, whom the WJC has accused of involvement in Nazi atrocities in the Balkans.

The WJC said it had asked the U.S. Army on February 10, under the "Freedom of Information Act" for copies of any document naming

Waldheim drawn up by U.S. intelligence officers investigating ex-Nazis.

The army sent the WJC a certain number of documents, but said others could not be released without the approval of the State Department, the court was told.

In a letter dated and shown to the court April 8 the State Department said the documents concerned were "under review," but it gave no indication of when or if the WJC would be allowed to see them. (AP, AFP)

President's speech leaves Waldheim controversy unresolved

By ILONA HENRY

Jerusalem Post Correspondent

VIENNA. — Austrian President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger's speech about Kurt Waldheim's World War II record has done nothing to settle the controversy surrounding the presidential candidate, with supporters and opponents of the former UN secretary-general both claiming the speech supported their case.

In a televised speech Tuesday, Kirchschlaeger said he did not believe there were grounds for charging Waldheim with war crimes. But he also stated that Waldheim, who served in the German army in the Balkans during the war, must have known everything about the Nazis conduct in that region.

Waldheim's conservative People's Party has

reacted ecstatically to the speech, claiming that the whole campaign against their candidate has collapsed.

Kirchschlaeger's "unprecedented" review of documents in the case has rehabilitated not only Waldheim but Austria as well, the party says.

The ruling Socialist Party has also welcomed the president's intervention. But party representatives have pointed out that Kirchschlaeger actually said — in elegant language — that Waldheim had little less than lied about his knowledge of Nazi atrocities in the Balkans.

Waldheim last week conceded that he had known of atrocities against Yugoslav partisans. But he has continued to deny that he knew of the deportation of Greek Jews.

Kirchschlaeger's speech was open to such

sharply differing interpretations partly because he

saw his main job as cooling the heated debate at home and reducing damage to Austria abroad. He believes the U.S. media has grossly simplified what happened during the war, quickly labelling everyone a war criminal, rather than differentiating between the tasks various people performed.

If Waldheim beats his three rivals in the first round of voting on May 4, no one will be surprised. The prevailing feeling is that the Socialists have given up the fight. But whatever happens, Kirchschlaeger will not be accused of influencing the vote. Those who always intended to vote for Waldheim may now do so with a better conscience; those who never trusted him will say his credibility has not been salvaged. The president's speech will have had little effect.

Disco attack suspect may have been involved in 2nd bombing

Jerusalem Post Correspondent and Agencies

BERLIN. — A Palestinian man arrested in the West Berlin nightclub bombing is also suspected of a role in a bomb attack on the German-Arab Friendship Association here, police said yesterday.

Ahmed Nawaf Mansur Hasi, 35, might have been involved in the March 29 explosion at the German-Arab Friendship Society in the Kreuzberg district of West Berlin, a police spokesman said.

The explosion at the friendship society, which occurred one week

before the bomb went off at the La Belle discotheque, injured seven Arabs, two of them seriously. Police at the time said they thought the blast was connected to conflicts between moderate and radical Arabs living in Berlin.

There are no indications that Hasi was a member of the society, police said.

Hasi was arrested on April 18 in connection with the La Belle bombing, which killed an American serviceman and a Turkish woman and injured 230 people, including 63 Americans.

Nezar Hindawi, the Jordanian facing charges in London of attempting to destroy an El Al Boeing 747 bound for Tel Aviv last Thursday, apparently did not take refuge in the Syrian Embassy before his capture, according to informed sources here.

The Jerusalem Post has investigated various reports of a "Syrian Connection" with Hindawi, including a suggestion that he hid in the embassy after delivering the plastic explosive bomb to his girlfriend as she was about to board the El Al jet.

Neither Scotland Yard nor the Home Office are allowed to com-

ment further on any aspect of the case, as Hindawi has been charged and sub judice rules apply. However, The Jerusalem Post has learned that reports that Hindawi spent most of last Thursday in the Syrian Embassy are groundless.

Hindawi, meanwhile is being held in a high security prison awaiting his court appearance next Thursday.

His pregnant girlfriend, Dublin-born Anne Marie Murphy, now reunited with her family, is at a secret address under police protection as a key witness.

Soccer isolation continues:

Uefa inaction keeps Israel out

CASCAIS, Portugal (AP). — The European soccer body, Uefa, decided yesterday not to act on a proposal that would end Israel's isolation from international soccer by allowing it to play in European competitions.

A proposal put forward by the Irish Football Association at a Uefa congress here would have entitled Israel — which has been banned from the Asian and African soccer confederations — to compete in the European nations cup.

But the congress decided not to vote on the proposal pending a revision of the statutes of the world soccer body, Fifa, this year that could open the way for Israel to join one of the continental soccer confederations.

Fifa president Joao Havelange, a guest at the Uefa congress, said Fifa statutes were due to be rewritten later this year at a meeting in Mexico. He said the rules governing national membership of soccer confederations could be substantially

altered, possibly offering Israel an opportunity to join one of the continental groups.

Delegations from the 34 Uefa nations decided not to vote on changing Uefa statutes to allow Israel to join the European group until the revision of the Fifa statutes was complete.

But the group made an opening for Israeli under-16 players to compete in international competitions. The congress suggested that Fifa appoint the Israeli under-16 side to one of the continental soccer confederations.

Since the ban from the Asian Football Confederation in 1976, Israel has had to rely on friendly matches for top-class international competition.

A report by a Uefa study committee presented to the congress said of the proposal to admit Israel, "The security risk must be considered and the matter cannot be judged from a sporting and emotional view but with a sense of reality."

El Al weathers fall in tourism

By GREER FAY CASHMAN

Jerusalem Post Reporter

A 35 per cent drop in tourism from the U.S. has cut El Al's traffic from the U.S. by only 10 per cent, thanks to crossover traffic from other airlines.

Security-conscious Americans who do not want to take Israel-bound flights through Europe are switching to El Al non-stop flights, according to company spokesman Nahman Kleinman. He added that every terrorist incident involving airlines brings transfers to El Al.

Kleinman attributed the shift to the media's focus on El Al's stringent security and high safety record. Even charter companies are losing to El Al. "A lot of people prefer to pay more and feel safe," he said.

Tourism Ministry spokeswoman Dvora Ganani says that tourism from Europe "is actually rising." She said that in the first quarter of this year there had been a 4 per cent

increase in tourism from Germany, a 6 per cent increase from the U.K., a 44 per cent increase from Switzerland and a 27 per cent increase from the Scandinavian countries.

British hotel tycoon David Lewis, in Israel to take a look at his Isrotel holdings, told The Jerusalem Post he was confident that even if 1986 continued to be a bad year for tourism, "the tourists will be back in Israel in 1987."

Europe has lived with terrorism for several decades, he pointed out, though it is still a novel phenomenon for Americans.

Bombs had been thrown at Spanish resort areas, he recalled, and there had been bomb outrages in London, and a civil war in Cyprus. Although these incidents had temporarily affected tourism, the upward trend had continued, he said.

Israel competes favourably with the Canary Islands, says Lewis, predicting that sun-lovers would soon prefer Eilat.

Regain land through peace

Mubarak says on Sinai tour

CAIRO (Reuters). — President Hosni Mubarak toured southern Sinai on Wednesday to mark the fourth anniversary of the peninsula's return to Egypt, and called on Arab states to work to regain Israeli-occupied lands by peaceful means.

Mubarak, who toured the area in advance of today's "Sinai Day," inaugurated housing, touring and power projects, and urged Egyptians to spend their vacations in Sinai and thus save hard currency.

"Egypt is striving for peace and the peaceful restoration of occupied lands," he told reporters. "We hope that our Arab brothers, whose lands are occupied by Israel, will also try to restore them by peaceful means."

Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Boutros Ghali said in an interview that though there was "disillusion" at Egypt's being the sole Arab state to have ties with Israel, Egypt was committed to the peace, which was supported by most Egyptians.

"Maybe Egyptians don't very much like Israel's policy," but they certainly like the peace," he said.

Rabin okays Gush Emunim festivity

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Gush Emunim said yesterday it expected thousands of people to attend next week's "spring tours" it is organizing in and around Hebron following Defence Minister Rabin's decision to permit the project.

Rabin's decision angered Peace Now, which had requested holding a tour of its own, also on Sunday, in Hebron. So far there has been no change in the banning of the Peace Now tour. A spokesman for the movement said that at a meeting with O/C Central Command, Aluf Ehud Barak, this morning they will ask that both tours be either approved or banned.

Rabin approved the Jewish set-

ters' plans after meeting with six Gush and Kiryat Arba leaders, including Rabbi Moshe Levinger and freed Jewish terrorist Ze'ev Friedman. The settlers told him they were not planning a political demonstration — just a "natural festivity" marking the 18th anniversary of renewed Jewish settlement in Hebron.

Finally, they won permission for their tour and a fund-raising dinner near the Machpelah Cave with Vice Premier Shamir as guest speaker.

However, another rally planned in front of the Cave has been banned.

"I think it was a move not to divide the congress in a political dispute over a very sensitive issue," said Icelandic representative Ellert Schram.

M-16 snatched from hitchhiking soldier

Jerusalem Post Reporter

NETANYA. — An M-16 rifle was snatched from a woman soldier who was hitchhiking Wednesday near the Wingate Institute here.

The soldier told the police that a car had stopped next to her and a young man had jumped out, stolen the rifle and then made off in the car.

The soldier flagged down another car, whose driver gave chase but failed to catch the thief.

Police set up roadblocks in the area.

Petah Tikva rabbi today to lead cinema protest

PETAH TIKVA (Itim). — The town's Chief Rabbi Baruch Salomon is to lead a demonstration of 49 rabbis and civic leaders today to protest against the Friday night opening of the Heichal cinema.

Police have informed the organizers that a rally of less than 50 persons would not be illegal, hence the number of 49 demonstrators. The demonstration is to be preceded by a mass rally at the central synagogue, but rally participants have been asked by religious leaders not to join the demonstration.

Ultra-Orthodox circles in Jerusalem have called a mass rally for 7 p.m. next Sunday at Zupnik Square in support of the Petah Tikva rabbi.

ate.

Prisoner murdered on Pessah leave

REHOVOT. — An inmate of the Ma'asiyahu Prison, who was on leave for the holiday, has been found murdered. Another Ma'asiyahu convict has been arrested on suspicion of killing him.

Police said the body of Moshe Yisrael, 21, of Ramle had been found in an orchard yesterday morning.

Yisrael had been serving a ten-month sentence for burglary.

48 Gaza Strip Arabs held on drugs charge

HOLON (Itim). — Forty-eight Arabs from Gaza and Khan Yunis were detained for questioning here on Wednesday after a search of the bus in which they were travelling revealed 12 loaves of hashish weighing a total of 2.4 kilos.

Wilner sees Gorbachev

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Israel Communist Party MK Meir Wilner on Tuesday met Soviet Communist Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in East Berlin.



This picture, purportedly showing the hanging of British hostage Alec Collett, 64, was sent on Wednesday to the Lebanese newspaper An-Nahar. Collett, a writer under contract to Unwra, was kidnapped on March 25, 1985 in Khaleel, south of Beirut. The Revolutionary Organization of Socialist Moslems, which claimed responsibility for Collett's abduction, announced last week that he had been hanged in reprisal for the U.S. attack on Libya. (AFP telephoto)

British Embassy passes on film said to show hanging

BEIRUT. — The British Embassy here yesterday sent to London for identification a video-cassette purporting to show the hanging of British journalist Alec Collett, an embassy source said.

Seven French teachers were meanwhile evacuated from Moslem-held West Beirut in a continuing exodus of Westerners after Arab groups had claimed responsibility for the killing of three British and one American kidnap victims.

Captors said the four had been killed in retaliation for last week's U.S. attack on Libya in which British-based U.S. bombers took part.

"We have seen the film. It has been sent to London for identification," a British embassy source said without elaborating on whether embassy officials could identify the hanged man as Collett.

In London, the Foreign Office said it could not confirm that Collett was dead and it had asked its Beirut embassy to secure the film.

The video-cassette purporting to show Collett's hanging reached the Beirut newspaper An-Nahar on Wednesday night. Collett, 64, was

Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (Unwra).

An Unwra official who knew him said: "I have seen the film, but I cannot make a positive identification."

The body of Peter Kilburn, an American University of Beirut librarian slain while a hostage in Lebanon, has been flown to his family's home in San Francisco, family members said yesterday. He was one of three westerners found dead in Beirut last week.

The exodus of most of the remaining Americans from West Beirut on Tuesday was said in Washington to complete a victory for terrorists in a nation that President Ronald Reagan once declared "a vital interest" to the U.S.

Hundreds of Americans have been killed in terrorist attacks in Lebanon, including 241 servicemen who died in the suicide-truck bombing of the U.S. marine headquarters in 1983.

"Definitely it is a victory for terrorism," Abdullah Bouhabib, the Lebanese ambassador to the U.S. said on Tuesday of the departure of Americans. Bouhabib had previously said he felt the U.S. should have stuck it out. (Reuters, AP)

free to for summit

with its allies, Syria and South Yemen, the government of Mu'amar Gaddafi wanted the agenda restricted to that subject.

But a majority of Arab countries, including such moderates as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, wanted the meeting to take up "all aggressions against the Arab nation," including the Iran-Iraq war, Arab diplomatic sources said.

Palestinian terrorist leader Abu Abbas, mastermind of the Achille Lauro hijack, said yesterday that he was organizing a meeting of revolutionary groups to act against the U.S. and Israel.

Abbas, head of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), declined to say when and where the meeting of more than 20 revolutionary groups from around the world would be held.

s because of terror fears

Since the American air raid on Libya, several show business acts including the singer Prince and Manhattan Transfer group, cancelled trips to Europe.

Sputoerg visited Israel earlier month with his wife and family.

In response to recent acts of terrorism the Du Pont Co., the ninth biggest American industrial corporation, has banned all employee business travel to the Middle East and urged postponement of trips to Europe.

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No 'Falklands effect' for Thatcher this time

By JERRY LEWIS/Jerusalem Post Correspondent

LONDON. — Prime Minister Thatcher's sanction for the use of American airbases here as a launching pad for President Reagan's strike against Libya has divided Britain in a way not experienced here for several years.

Over a week after the bombing in Tripoli and Benghazi the fall-out continues to reverberate throughout Britain's political scene.

Over two-thirds of respondents in three separate opinion polls thought Thatcher's decision had been wrong. Almost the same number felt that Reagan's tactics had been wrong too. Government backbenchers, who under the Thatcher regime especially are normally a passive and supportive body, have publicly voiced their doubts.

The message they will convey to party managers after a weekend in their constituencies is a clear warning to the government not to accede to a similar request again.

The message is that Thatcher has misjudged the public's mood. Despite her explanation of the reasons for military action, and the continuing reminder of the effects of Libyan terrorism, the public feels unsettled by and in many cases hostile to her acquiescing to Reagan's request.

As shadow foreign secretary Denis Healey said towards the end of the debate in the Commons, were Reagan to ask her to jump, he felt certain her response would be "how high?"

In falling in with the U.S. administration's wishes and casting aside European reservations about military action, Thatcher was again proving that she was "Reagan's poodle," Healey said.

Observers admit Britain "owed one" to the U.S. for the assistance the Americans gave during the Falklands War. Thatcher would never use that line. But it was the Falklands War that brought her back for

a second term of office. This latest episode appears to be having a contrary effect.

Nor has the controversy ignored the "Israeli angle." This was most evident in the House of Commons and in the Lords, where full-scale "emergency" debates were held, with the traditional "Arabists" making their voices clearly heard.

They said the problem of Middle East terrorism, be it the Gaddafi variety or any other, would not go away until what they termed the "root cause" of the region's problem — the Palestinian problem and Israel's policy — was solved. Even friends of Israel were heard to join the chorus.

Former premiers Heath (Conservative) and Callaghan (Labour) told Thatcher they disapproved of her decision. Heath revealed that when faced with a U.S. request during the Yom Kippur War for permission to use British facilities in Cyprus to re-supply Israel he had turned it down as being against British interests.

A wave of anti-American feeling has washed through all the vocal opposition.

The press, with some surprising exceptions, was mostly critical of the raid. The right-wing *Times*, *Mail* and *Express* and the tabloids *Star* and *Sun* favoured the raid. But so did the standard-bearer of the Left, the tabloid *Daily Mirror*, now owned by Robert Maxwell, a Czechoslovak Jew. In his editorial, "Enough," he suggested that if the Europeans had acted earlier against Gaddafi the bombing could have been avoided.

Opposing Thatcher were such pillars of the establishment as the *Financial Times* and the *Telegraph*, joined by the new colour tabloid *Today* and the *Guardian*.



Margaret Thatcher (Reuters)

The left-wing dominated National Union of Journalists which held its annual meeting over the weekend passed an emergency resolution both condemning the American raids and expressing sympathy for Gaddafi's regime. That provoked an outcry from journalists, ranging from protests by NUJ members at the *Jewish Chronicle* to resignations by senior journalists such as the political editor of the *Observer*, Adam Raphael, whose links with the union go back 25 years.

Radio phone-in programmes have been inundated by anti-American jibes and ferocious attacks on Thatcher. The line taken by many was echoed by one of the many

leaders in the *Guardian*, which stressed the tragedy of the death in the attack of Gaddafi's youngest child and pointed to what it termed the failure of Israel's policy of bombing and strafing Palestinian camps.

With the debate pitched at this level, Thatcher has had a hard time justifying the raid. Persistent questioners have tried to gain an assurance that she would not let British-based bombers be used again.

One questioner in Parliament on Tuesday asked if it was her foreign policy to follow the line "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

Thatcher showed her critics that she could answer with gusto, and somewhat to the embarrassment of some of her party colleagues, she told MPs that the basis for her policy was what was best for British interests.

MPs shouted at Thatcher as she gave her answer. "What are British interests?...Killing, maiming?"

Rumbles have also been heard from the business world which fears that Britain will lose export orders from Arab countries. Delegations from United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia have already been cancelled and the warning has gone out that if Britain aids the U.S. in any follow-up action against Libya, British business in the Middle East will be affected.

Splits in the Jewish community over the raid surfaced at the regular monthly meeting of the Board of Deputies in London last Sunday. Lionel Kopopolow, its president, advocated sending a message to Thatcher commending her for taking a robust stand on terrorism.

A proposal from the floor to that effect was objected to, and the board's former president, Greville Jenner, advised the community that to write formally to Thatcher would be a "grave and insensitive error." Other deputies agreed, and the matter was dropped.

On the testing triathlon trail

By JACK LEON

Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Marathon runs are evidently no longer a challenge. After the amazing world-wide distance-running boom of recent years which has seen almost every major city worth the name sponsor its own annual distance race, the latest development in the endurance contest world is fast becoming the triathlon, and Israel this weekend joins the wave.

The country's first international event in the three-discipline sport of swimming, cycling and running takes place tomorrow. A 1,000m. swim in the warm springs of Sachne at 11 a.m. will launch the meet's long course. There will also be a shorter race, which begins at 2 p.m. with an 8km. run from the swimming pool of Givat Ha'moreh, near Afeka.

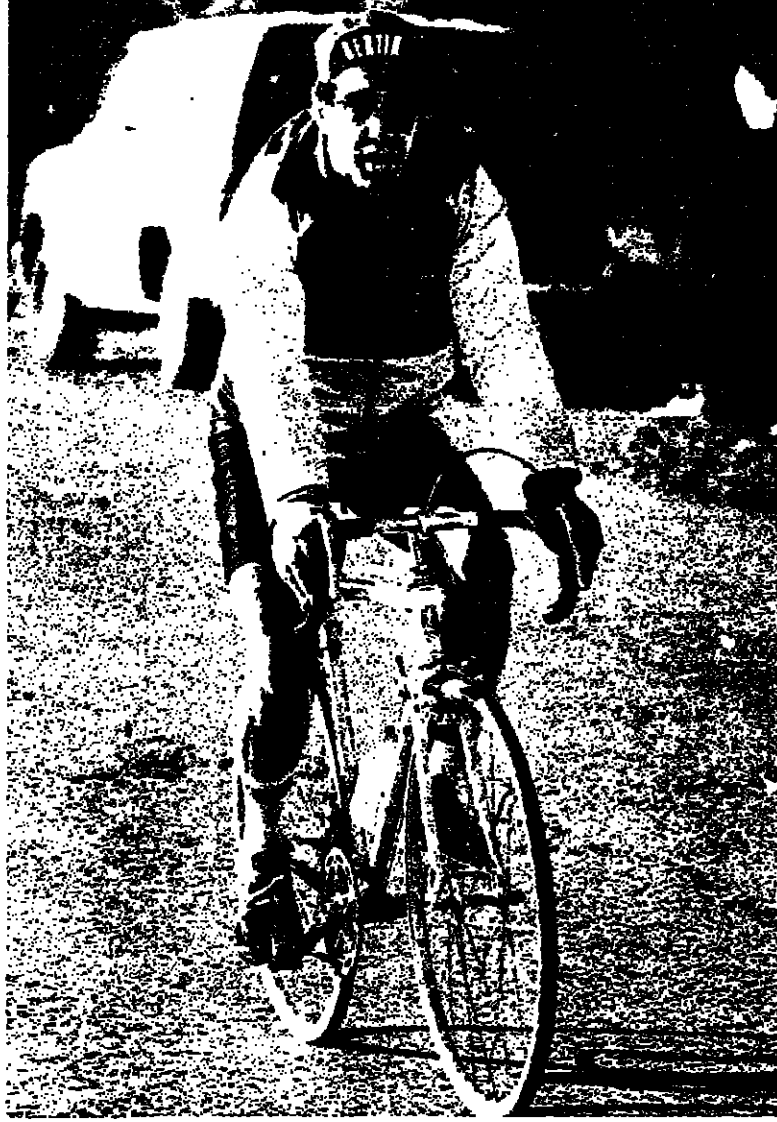
After the Sachne swim, the long course will comprise a 60km. cycle race and 15km. run, plying a route through the Jezreel Valley and ending at Givat Ha'moreh. The shorter distance will wind up with a 500m. swim there, following a 20km. pedal. The event is sponsored by the Jezreel Valley regional council.

Three West Germans from the Gerolstein Triathlon Club are already here for the meet and several of their teammates are due to join them today. The foreign entry also includes a dozen Finnish members of Unifil and kibbutz volunteers from abroad.

In all, 120 hardy athletes are expected to take part — about a quarter of them in the long course race, director Uzi Ron of Kibbutz Ein Dor said.

Among those setting out to cover the lengthier route the youngest participant will be Ron's son Ziv, 15, while the oldest game athlete is 59-year-old Reuven Finkle of Nes Ziona. This event will also include three women, Germany's Maria Jonas, Dorit Attias from Eilat and Esther Meisner of Ha'ogen, sister of Israeli marathon star Yair Karmi.

New York-born Ron, 43, who settled here 22 years ago, is putting into practice a programme originated by Daniel Honig, founder and chairman of the Big Apple Triathlon Club in New York and now also president of the International Association of Triathlon Clubs (IATC). Both in 1983 and 1984, Haifa Technion graduate Honig gave special demonstrations of the three-dimensional sport, in conjunction with the Sea of Galilee International Marathon. Honig is now busy orga-



Daniel Honig.

(Avishai)

nizing the inaugural world triathlon club championships in New York this summer, in which at least 40 countries will be represented.

Like most athletes who can also swim and cycle, Ron has "graduated" to the triathlon from long-distance running. After 10 years as a basketball player and coach at Ein Dor, he took up running and jogging to shed some weight. Ron had competed in eight full marathons and many more distance races. He is also very much involved in orienteering, having become interested in this unusual sport while serving as an officer in the army reserves.

Ron became fascinated with the idea of the rapidly-developing sport from accounts in track and field magazines from abroad. Participation in an experimental event at Kibbutz Horshim last summer further fired his enthusiasm. "I had got rather bored with competing in marathons and other races simply to try to improve my fastest personal time by a couple of minutes. I began to look around for a new athletic challenge — one wheel offered diversity and stimulation, to supplement my interest in orienteering."

"The triathlon forces athletes to develop both their upper and lower bodies, providing a programme of

total muscular and cardiovascular fitness. Another big advantage of the triathlon over distance running is that an athlete who sustains the normal injuries common to running need not be put out of action entirely, as he can still take part in cycling and swimming while recovering from his injury."

There are dozens of variations of the event, with the longest — nicknamed the "ironman triathlon" — taking place annually in Hawaii — consisting of a 4 km. swim in the sea, 200 km. cycle race and the full marathon distance, making a total of 246 km. Interest in that meet is enormous, with the entry limited to 1,000 participants and thousands of other applications being turned down. The coming world championship in New York will be a "half-ironman" distance.

Last year, some one million Americans competed in 2,500 triathlon races right across the continent. The triathlon's popularity is also increasing by leaps and bounds in Europe — it is estimated to be the fastest-growing sport in West Germany — as well as in South America and Japan.

Late registration for the Jezreel Valley Triathlon can be made between eight and 10 a.m. tomorrow at the Givat Ha'moreh swimming pool. Entry fee is NIS 15.

Shas MK Yosef makes up for early silence

Shas MK Rabbi Ya'acov Yosef, who waited eight months before making his maiden speech in the Knesset, seemed to be making up for lost time in the final weeks of the winter term, when he presented no fewer than three motions for the agenda.

Early in his Knesset career, the son of former Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef was seldom seen in the House. He told an inquiring reporter that he felt it was a waste of time to sit in the chamber and that he was studying at a yeshiva instead. Something obviously has changed. And one of those motions — which we take up last — signals a sharp departure in Shas thinking.

Yosef's motion on "dismissals of workers who refuse to work on Shabbat" proved to be without foundation as Labour Minister Moshe Katsav, himself a Sabbath observer, made clear in his comments on Yosef's specific examples. But, presumably from coalition considerations, the minister agreed that the motion be referred to committee.

Katsav also assured Yosef that the ministry would give every possible assistance should there ever be such a case. Some ministers, replying to a similar motion, would have added that a parliamentary question, rather than a motion for the agenda, would have been the proper instrument for raising a matter pertaining to particular incidents rather than to a general problem.

Quite different was the second subject raised by Yosef: "the low mortgage loans granted to yeshiva students whose army service has been deferred." Apparently oblivious to the ineptitude of the metaphor, he said that all he was demanding was "absolute equality, with no discrimination between blood and blood."

Why, he asked, should a young

KNESSET SPOTLIGHT

Aryeh Rubinstein

man who owned a car and was well off qualify for a solid mortgage loan just because he was a discharged soldier, while the poor chap "who was not privileged" to serve in the IDF did not. Why should the man whose soul yearned for Tora be punished for that, together with his family? Did we wish to create Class A and Class B citizens?

Furthermore, Yosef argued, it was not exemption from army service that the yeshiva student received, but truly deferment and, when the time came, he was conscripted — in accordance with the time it took to complete his studies and in accordance with his economic capacity — and meanwhile he lost that loan.

This time, too, it was a Likud minister who replied, and again with a soft answer. The preferential aid given to ex-soldiers was laid down in the Discharged Soldiers Law, said Housing Minister David Levy. In fact, invalids who did not serve in the IDF also received less housing aid, even if — was this a sting? — their exemptions from military service had not resulted from choice.

Continuing to stick to the technical-factual aspect of the question, Levy noted that the poorest young couples — those with 1,400 eligibility points or more — qualified for government rent subsidies without regard to army service. Similarly, the housing aid granted in development areas was not dependent on army service.

Then the politician took over. Although that was the legal situation, and Levy could not grant Yosef's request, "the problem is a problem. I don't ignore the hardship

suffered by yeshiva families, and I think the Knesset should consider the problem." And he moved that the matter go to the Finance Committee.

This was too much for Mapam's Elazar Granot. "This is brazenness," he said, moving that the motion be struck from the agenda. "Thousands of healthy young men are not fulfilling their elementary civic duty of defending our lives. We're talking about parasites, leeches."

(In reply to a parliamentary question, Deputy Defence Minister Michael Dekel has since said that the number of yeshiva students granted deferment stood at 15,713 in March. The number has risen steadily since 1976, when it stood at 7,846, he said.)

Avraham Verdiger, the half of Morasha that has quit the coalition (the other half, Haim Druckman staying in) got into the act. "Anti-Semitism! Jewish anti-Semitism! How can you talk that way about Tora scholars?"

But the third motion broke new ground. The subject was the refusal of the principal of the Moledet elementary school in Mevasseret Zion, near Jerusalem, to form a *Taly* class requested by 75 per cent of the parents. (*Taly* is the acronym for *Tigbur Limudei ha-Yahadut* — enriched Jewish studies.)

To frustrate the demand for a *Taly* class — which would give more hours to the study of Bible and Jewish holidays and customs, and the like — the principal had dispersed the *Taly*-seekers among four parallel classes, so that no single class would be able to muster the requisite 75 per cent, Yosef charged. And district inspector Yosef Yonai had backed the principal.

Education Minister Yitzhak Navon replied that he himself was all for *Taly*. He wanted Israeli children



Ya'acov Yosef (Harari)

to learn more and know more about Judaism. But Mevasseret was a special case. There had been a *Taly* class there but because of the "delicate social fabric" in the suburb it had created serious friction between the parents. He was apparently referring to the charge that the *Taly* class had drained off the better pupils from all classes in that grade.

Navon said that the principal and the inspector had not been the only appointments of *Taly*; the parents' committee, 16 out of the 17 teachers, and the local authority had all objected.

Navon said that there were two possible solutions. First, if a sufficient number of parents were interested, extra hours for Jewish studies would be added to the regular curriculum, instead of replacing other subjects. Alternatively, if the local council provided a suitable building, a *Taly* class might be opened there. Last week, the parents prodded Navon by demonstrating opposite his office.

What was unusual here, of course, was that Yosef was taking up the cudgels for a group of non-Orthodox parents whose children attend a non-religious state school, heretofore regarded by the *haredi* camp as strictly *trefa*.

And Yosef's promotion of *Taly* clashed head-on with the position taken by Chief Rabbi Avraham Shapira and Mordechai Eliahu. Only a week before, their statement warning parents not to register their children in *Taly* schools was distributed in Jerusalem neighbourhoods such as Ramot and French Hill, where *Taly* schools function.

Navon was thus able to congratulate Yosef for supporting a programme that was opposed by the Chief Rabbi.

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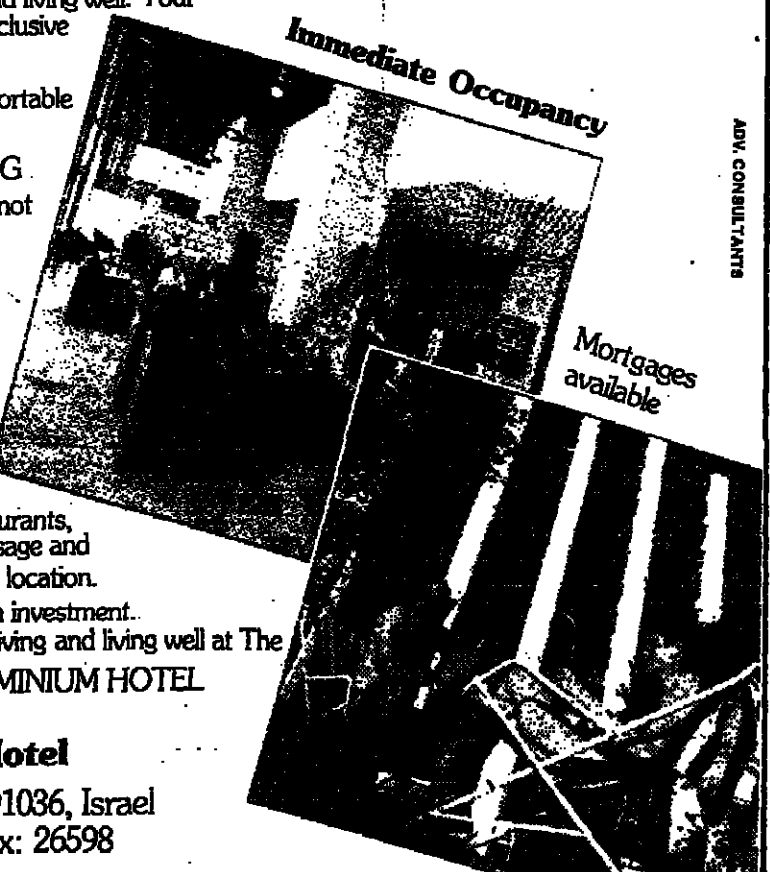
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Expert cites 'Palestinization' alarm bells

PLO 'three circles' concept bringing together Arabs of Israel and the areas

MARK SEGAL / Post Political Correspondent

THE GROWING political solidarity and nationalistic affinity between Israel's 700,000 Arabs and their 1.5 million brethren in the territories cannot be ignored, says Eli Reches, a senior research scholar at Tel Aviv University's Dayan Centre. While Reches for years has been warning about the "Palestinization" process, he points to several recent developments that should set alarm bells ringing.

Two funerals turned into mass political demonstrations, that of assassinated Nablus Mayor Za'fer al-Masri and of Haifa University scholar Dr. Sami Mar'i. The latter, says Reches, was a symbol for Israeli Arabs, a proud intellectual who gained recognition in Israel and the West. There is a clear parallel between what the two funerals became, says Reches, regretting the way the widespread mourning for Mar'i was exploited for political purposes.

Dozens of local youngsters have been recruited in separate terrorist networks for sabotage inside Israel proper. There was a similar wave of subversion in the late '60s, Reches notes, and the recently revealed cases highlight close cooperation between local Arabs and their operators in the territories.

Nor should the spread of Islamic fundamentalism be ignored, he says. He mentions the arrest in 1981 of penitents who named themselves "Usrat al-Jihad" (Family of the Holy War), who hoarded arms and set fire to fields and forests.

The Dayan Centre scholar, who stresses that he is talking about indices of spreading radicalization, and not widespread phenomena, talks at length about the sources of political inspiration for Israeli Arabs. Radicalization, he says, has been fostered by the PLO, which since the early '70s has worked with a "three circles" concept, bringing together what the PLO terms the "1948 Palestinians" (or Israeli Arabs), those of 1967 from the West Bank and Gaza and the Palestinian diaspora.

Reches notes that since the early '70s there has been an active Israeli Arab lobby in PLO councils, led by three men - Sabri Jinnas, a Christian who left Galilee in 1970 to join the PLO apparatus in Beirut (he had tangled with Israeli authorities over his activity in the outlawed el-Ard group); Habib Kahwaji, a member of the Arab-Jewish spy group that

included Udi Adiv, and the Communist poet Mahmoud Darwish. These three, says Reches, introduced the idea of integrating Israeli Arabs into the general Palestinian nationalist struggle.

THE BEST organized political force in Israel's Arab community is the Communist Party, says Reches, who did his doctoral thesis on it. The Communists are increasingly divesting themselves of the term "Rakah" (New Communist List) for the old acronym "Maki" (Israel Communist Party). "Rakah" came into use in 1965 during the split with the Moshe Sneh faction, which kept the "Maki" label; but now, 21 years later, the Communist leadership feels it's safe to take back their old title. Both Rakah and the Communists in the West Bank, under the powerful influence of Bashir Barghuthi of Ramallah, editor of the weekly *al-Talia*, are fervently pro-Moscow.

Rakah through its links with the West Bank Communists consolidated its connections with the PLO leadership, says Reches, noting the little-known first open meeting between Rakah and the PLO in Prague in 1977. The Israeli comrades were represented by ideologue Wolf Ebrlich, the late Dr. Emile Touma and party spokesman Uzi Burstein. The PLO contingent comprised Majid Abu Sharar, Isam Abu Lutf and Abdullah Khourani.

Since the Prague meeting the PLO has consistently praised Rakah as "the vanguard in the fight against the Zionist ideology from within." Most significant, Reches finds, is what has happened to the moderate Israeli Arab camp, specifically Labour MK Abdel Wahab Darousha and Mapam MK Mohammed Wattad.

In order to consolidate their positions among their constituencies, they have found it necessary to demonstrate their fidelity to the Palestinian Nationalist cause," Reches declares. Darousha's bid to reach the Palestinian National Council in Amman in November 1984 (which failed) symbolizes this trend. His trip arrangements were handled by PLO people in East Jerusalem, including Raymond Tawill's Palestinian Press Agency. Reches also draws attention to the column Wattad writes regularly for the pro-PLO *al-Jihad* newspaper, *al-Bayad al-Siyasi*.

FORMAL political cooperation be-

tween Israeli Arabs and those in the territories would be illegal, but Reches notes that the territories have become the principal political hinterland of the parties operating among Israeli Arabs. The MKs of the Progressive List for Peace - Rakah's main rival - react automatically to developments beyond the Green Line.

Are the Progressives the "PLO members of Israel's parliament?" "Formally speaking, of course not," says Reches. They certainly do not define themselves as that. However, they are consistent in expressing their support for the PLO's political programme - to be more precise, that of its mainstream, headed by Yasser Arafat.

Hence their main connections in the West Bank are with Arafat supporters, to such an extent that the mainstream PLO organ in East Jerusalem, *al-Fajr*, has become their mouthpiece. This is partly because of their problems with the publisher and staff of their official magazine in Nazareth.

The Progressives always take care to invite West Bankers to their meetings, Reches says. They also publicly mark events that took place in the territories such as the memorial assembly (in Nazareth) for the assassinated former mayor of Hebron, Fawd Kawasma.

A further channel of contact is cultural activities. The PLO has concentrated increasingly in recent years, Reches points out, on disseminating the Palestinian cultural heritage - studies of village history, poetry, folklore, etc. Last May saw the first Congress of Palestinian Thought under the auspices of a Nazareth-based literary society linked to the Progressives, named Alma Wakib. It was attended by Palestinian scholars from Israel, the territories and from abroad.

THE FUNDAMENTAL difference between Rakah and the Progressives, says Reches, is that while the Communists are firm in opposing Zionism but have no qualms about taking part in the Zionist political system, things are purposely left vague among the Progressives. Indeed a source of factional friction among the Progressives is its link to the Jewish "Alternative" group of MK, Matti Peled and Uri Avnery, which has been challenged by the "radical" wing, led by Nazareth Anglican clergyman Riab Abu al-Assal.



Reches adds a note on the recent Land Day protest. Rakah opted for a low-key protest, realizing that the masses had no immediate cause for protest. The much less experienced Progressives attempted to rouse the people to extremist demonstrations and failed in their first bid to whip up

popular support outside elections. While the visit of Prime Minister Shimon Peres to Nazareth (the first by a prime minister in 12 years) could be seen as according respectability to Rakah, the Dayan Centre scholar tends to the perception that it might also be part of the drive to

renew Soviet-Israeli relations. He regards the presence of President Chaim Herzog at the opening session of the Rakah convention within this context, and that should include the call 'Rakah' chief Meir Wilner paid at Beit Hanassi on returning from the 27th Soviet Communist

party Congress in Moscow. In Reches' eyes, current trends might even make Rakah the moderate element among Israeli Arabs. However, as things stand, the Israeli Communist Party enjoys mass electoral support among the Arabs because of its anti-Zionist positions and its support for Palestinian nationalism.

RECHES also stresses the importance of the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. As background he notes that the birthrate among Christian Arabs in Israel has declined so their proportion among Israeli Arabs has dropped to 11 per cent, with Moslems comprising 80 per cent and the Druse, 9 per cent. During the early years of the Jewish state, the Arab community suffered from a scarcity of religious leaders, as most had fled in 1948. Since 1967, the vacuum has partly been filled by the Supreme Moslem Council in Jerusalem, with the West Bank and Gaza religious establishment extending its influence across the Green Line. Moslem clerics began to move into Israel proper and made themselves felt.

Another factor heightening Islamic influence is the possibility since 1978 of making the Haj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Some 3,500 Israeli Moslems have already applied to go this year. The trip is not only a means of fulfilling a religious obligation, says Reches, but also an opportunity for socializing with Palestinians. That, Reches pointedly says, should be ringing some alarm bells that need listening to.

ON A MORE positive note, Reches said that after years of complaining about benign (and not so benign) neglect of Israel's Arabs on the part of the authorities, the scholar is happier with the policies initiated by Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman and his senior advisor, Dr. Yosef Ginat. They included the prime minister's visit to Nazareth and the tour of Arab centres in Western Galilee by Weizman. They evoke positive echoes among the Arab population and deepen the sense of partnership, Reches says.

In the scholar's considered opinion, the preparation of a comprehensive, long-range programme for the integration of the Arab minority into Israeli society is long overdue. It should cover all aspects of life, including short-term issues and the longer-term ones. In his view Israeli policy towards its Arab minority should be based on the twin theme of "power and flexibility versus weakness and rigidity." He contends that the time is ripe for an entirely new definition of "the rules of the game," as he puts it, "to reiterate in no uncertain terms that it will not work to be simultaneously a citizen of the State of Israel and to seek to undermine its very existence."

Why do they pick on Gaddafi?

WOLF BLITZER / Jerusalem Post Washington Correspondent

THE REAGAN administration clearly is obsessed with Libya and its leader, Col. Muammar Gaddafi. He has been described by both President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George Bush as "the mad dog of the Middle East."

The public impression being orchestrated by the White House is that Gaddafi is the source of almost all terrorist evil in the world. U.S. officials will grudgingly admit that there are other states which sponsor terrorism, especially Syria. But the main focus of the West's attention, they say, must be Libya's Gaddafi.

Privately, U.S. counter-terrorist experts concede that Gaddafi has no worse a record than Syrian President Hafez Assad and Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini. Others go further in insisting that Assad is even worse. The *New Republic* magazine, in an editorial, said Assad is "surely responsible for the death of many more Americans and other innocents than Gaddafi is."

But Gaddafi, almost alone, has surfaced as the Reagan administration's major target for economic, military and political counter-attack.

As explained by U.S. officials, there are several reasons for the different treatment accorded Libya and Syria.

FIRST, Gaddafi is considerably more brazen, careless and outspoken than Assad in waging terror against the West. Gaddafi's agents are seen as sloppy. They tend to leave their "fingerprints" all over the place.

This was especially obvious in the case of the West Berlin nightclub bombing. There were messages between Tripoli and the Libyan "People's Bureau" in East Berlin both before and after the operation - messages intercepted by U.S. intelligence. That was enough of the "smoking gun" the Reagan administration needed to order the bombing raid against Libya.

Assad, on the other hand, is depicted as much more careful in planning similar operations. The Syrians almost always protect themselves by including in their actions a layer of non-Syrians - usually Palestinians or Lebanese Shi'ites. Thus, Assad is somewhat removed from the incidents and can more effectively deny

involvement. "Syrian intelligence in these kinds of things is much more professional than Libya's," an American expert said.

Secondly, Libya is certainly an easier target than Syria. This is a practical fact of life. The Soviet Union has a much closer alliance with the Damascus regime. Syria is Moscow's chief strategic asset in the Middle East. The Soviets have made a major investment in Syria. Indeed, there is a formal Soviet-Syrian treaty of friendship. Going after Syria, therefore, would pose a much greater risk of rupturing the superpower relationship.

Third, the Syrians are militarily a much more formidable foe. Libya was not very effective in using its Soviet-supplied anti-aircraft missile systems and fighter aircraft against the invading American bombers.

Syria, however, has had more experience in that field. Its systems have often challenged Israel - usually without much success, but the experience is there. The Reagan administration would be extremely reluctant to risk losing American planes and pilots by attacking Syria. There are still memories of the unsuccessful U.S. bombing raid against Syrian targets in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon at the end of 1983. Two U.S. A-6's were downed by the Syrians.

Fourth, the administration believes that by punishing Libya, the other states which sponsor terrorism, including Syria and Iran, would automatically become more constrained in their activities. Seeing America's get-tough posture against Libya, the theory goes, would deter them from pursuing terror. "It should send a chill down their

spine," an administration official said.

Finally, Syria is politically more powerful than Libya and has more friends in the Arab world. U.S. officials have noted that the more moderate Arab states in fact have privately welcomed the raid against Gaddafi even if they have publicly criticized Washington.

"What they say privately is rather different," Secretary of State George Shultz said. "And I think there is a widespread sense that Gaddafi is a menace to them. I don't think there are any illusions in the Arab world about Gaddafi."

Assad is clearly more respected and feared in the Arab world than Gaddafi. He is also more serious. He can live up to political arrangements when it suits him. The 12-year quiet along the Israeli-Syrian

disengagement-of-forces line on the Golan Heights is testimony to Assad's more pragmatic approach.

WHAT WOULD the U.S. do if it actually came up with direct, hard evidence implicating Syria in one of the recent terrorist actions, such as the murder of American hostage Peter Kilburn in Beirut, or the bombing of the TWA airliner from Rome to Athens, or the attempted bombing of the El Al flight from London to Tel Aviv? That's a tough question to answer. U.S. officials said.

What is clear is that there is no love in Washington for Assad and his regime. Secretary Shultz, for example, sees the Syrians as the major spoilers of his 1983 Israeli-Lebanese security agreement. He and other officials know that the Syrians are training many Palestinian and Shi'ite terrorists, especially in the Bekaa.

They are also fairly confident that the Syrians could win the release of

the remaining American hostages in Lebanon if they really wanted. There is bitterness in Washington over the fact that the Syrians are simply sitting on their hands on this highly emotional matter - if not worse.

As a result, the Americans have been delighted to receive intelligence reports noting the severe economic problems currently facing the Assad regime. Economic assistance from Saudi Arabia and the other oil-rich Arab states has been sharply reduced. There are reports of increased murmurings in various parts of Syria.

No one in Washington is prepared to predict any immediately serious threat to Assad's rule, but if the present trend continues, that is by no means ruled out.

In the meantime, attention remains focused almost exclusively on Libya and its erratic ruler. America's drive to get rid of Gaddafi one way or another continues.

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When tenacity sparks widespread revulsion

Heads of the banks under fire as wave of criticism mounts

PINHAS LANDAU / Jerusalem Post Finance Reporter

THE TENACITY shown by the heads of the banks in clinging to their posts could, in any other circumstances, be considered an admirable trait. In the context of the disaster they orchestrated but refuse to take responsibility for, it arouses widespread puzzlement if not revulsion.

Nevertheless the nagging question remains: why did they not resign in October 1983; why did they not resign after the scathing State Comptroller's report in December 1984; and why are some still hanging on after the Bejski report? The answers, to this conundrum are a mixture of personal and institutional factors.

It has become too common in Israel to talk of "the banks", as if they represent a monolithic entity. This, however, is far from the truth. Even in matters in which they form a joint front, the fundamental differences between Banks Leumi, Hapoalim, Discount and Mizrahi are never far from the surface. Most of the time, they behave as if each one lives in its own little cocoon — which, to a large extent, is true.

Few people realize that the four largest banks have been going long enough — between 50 and 80 years — to have been able to develop distinct corporate personalities. Each of them pre-dates the state itself, not to speak of state institutions like the Bank of Israel. It is therefore easy for them to pretend, both to themselves and others, that they are a sovereign state of their own. Only after this very basic point is grasped, can the performance of the banks and their heads before, during and after the "regulation" scandal, begin to make sense.

Another key fact that the general public is unaware of is that the banks

vary enormously in size. Leumi and Hapoalim are much the same weight, although the internal composition of their \$20 billion or so in assets that each controls, is very different. Discount is half the size of the big two, and its make-up is quite dissimilar to either of them. Mizrahi, finally, is half the size of Discount, and comprises only a few per cent of the total banking market in Israel.

The top bankers have one thing in common. They have all succeeded in convincing themselves that they personally are so important, to their institutions and even to the nation at large, that the cost of replacing them far outweighs any problems their decisions might cause. They also believe that only Yoram Anidor's foolish policy of "correct economics" precipitated the crash, and that the "regulation" could otherwise have continued undisturbed.

Finally, and perhaps most disturbingly on the professional level, they believed and continue to believe, that the "regulation" was itself necessary to enable the banks to raise the foreign currency loans that Israel needed in the decade after the Yom Kippur War. They personally and the institutions they headed, were the instruments used to obtain those loans, and the line put out by the bankers, but decisively rejected by the Bejski commission, was that the bankers had to "regulate" in order to boost their capital, in order to give themselves standing abroad, in order to get the loans, in order to keep the country going.

This banking "house that Jack built" story led directly to the collapse of October 1983.

LEUMI IS a world unto itself. The institutional mania that dominates the bank, its management and its business strategy, is that Leumi is the banker of the nation. No, not the Israeli nation; that's only been going 38 years, less than half the time that Anglo-Palestine, later Leumi, has been in existence. They mean the Jewish people, because the manifest destiny of Bank Leumi, in its own eyes, is to provide financial services to Jews wherever they may be.

Because it has been in business so long, Leumi knows, in its corporate psyche, that what it does is good for its customers, for the country, for the Jewish people. Politicians, elected or otherwise, may come and go. They have short-term views and interests. Bank Leumi, owned by the Jewish Agency and answerable to no one, believes it need pay no attention to these transient factors. What it decides, what it does, is the right policy, by definition.

In short, the primary characteristic of Bank Leumi is blind and willful arrogance. The refusal of the bank's chairman, Ernest Aghat, to admit any fault, much less to stand down, and the support that this attitude receives from Leumi's board, should be seen in this light.

HAPOALIM is a totally different

kettle of fish. The bank still bears the deep imprint of the late Ya'akov Levinson, and therefore it is fair to say that Levinson's secretive, almost paranoid, nature finds expression in the bank's general attitude, to itself and the outside world. Business matters that would be spoken of naturally and even with pride in other banks, have to be squeezed out, reluctantly, off the record and for background only, from nameless officials in Hapoalim.

The real source of this corporate paranoia, though, is the deep-seated knowledge that, in most areas of business, Hapoalim is number two, always has been number two, and may be expected to remain in that unenviable position. This is the cloud hanging over all the bank's senior executives — they are always dragging along behind Leumi, without even having the satisfaction of seeing Leumi glance back over its shoulder to see where they are. Leumi's policy of pretending that there is no competition, that no-one is behind them, that they are the only player on the field, drives Hapoalim crazy.

There is, in addition, the extra set of hang-ups that Hapoalim carries around with it as a Histadrut-owned organization. It pays lip-service, and sometimes a heavy real price, to the

outmoded ideology that Hevrat Haovdim saddles it with. One example is the ludicrously low salaries it pays its top management. As Giora Gazit pointed out this week, finding people willing to accept the responsibility of top jobs without reasonable pecuniary compensation is getting very difficult in an age where idealists are few and far between.

Hapoalim's strongpoints, though, have come to the fore in its handling of the Bejski report. Because its executives are accountable to somebody, other than themselves, they have been unable to convince themselves that their firm will be in difficulties without their presence. The fact that, as recently as 1983/84, the bank went through the major trauma of the Levinson affair, made it more aware of its own vulnerability and more capable of handling criticism of its performance in the "regulation" issue. The contribution of Gazit himself, in moving the bank toward a less hysterical, more rational and open way of regarding itself, is perhaps as great a long-term contribution to Hapoalim as his exposure of the wrongdoings of Levinson and his cronies.

THE DIAMETRIC opposite of Hapoalim's problems are on view at Bank Discount. This family-owned

bank pays what it wants to whomever it thinks it needs. Unlike Hapoalim, it has no ideological strings attached, its purpose being to make money. The problem at Discount begins with the fact that it tried to move from being a small bank to being an equal to the big two, but got stuck in the process.

It got caught up in the "regulation" by playing follow-the-leader, and then, from the time that the late Daniel Recanati gave up the helm because of ill-health, the bank has been in a steadily worsening leadership crisis. Raphael Recanati has only a small fraction of his late brother's charisma and banking abilities, according to knowledgeable observers, but this has not prevented him — indeed, seems to have spurred him — to hang on to his position at the top of the family business empire as best he can. The harsh criticism heaped on him by his older brother, Harry, in an outspoken book published last year which exposed the intra-Recanati feud, is probably another factor in his decision to try and sweat things out.

One feature of the Recanati family lore has survived, even as the family itself has washed its dirty linen in public, and that is its loyalty to its employees — and theirs to it. Nothing would have been easier than to throw Eli Cohen, the man who has run the bank on a day-to-day basis for the last eight years, to the dogs and pin the blame on him. This has not been done.

But, again, no bank has matched the *chutzpa* shown by Discount, and by Cohen in particular, in proclaiming that the "regulation" was a good thing, that it should not have been stopped and that it is too bad it couldn't restart. If and when Re-

canati goes, Cohen and others should resign with him.

FINALLY, MIZRAHI, whose particular characteristic is defensiveness. This is not quite the same as Hapoalim's delusion that the whole world is against it. Rather, it is a combination of the fact that Mizrahi is a small bank and has a religious background and orientation, so that whatever it does, the bank always feels it owes everyone, primarily itself, an explanation — almost an excuse — to justify its actions. Unlike the similarly-sized First International, it has never set its own line; rather preferring to tag along after the big banks have shown the way.

This explains its on again off again attitude to participating in the "regulation". The fact that Aharon Meir, its talented managing director and the man credited with building Mizrahi into a serious banking institution in Israel and abroad, cannot dream of being an example to his colleagues and accepting responsibility, is part of the same syndrome. If they won't go, he won't be first to move.

Whoever replaces Meir will have to work hard to eradicate his legacy, which has made Mizrahi the "me-too" bank of the Israeli system.

The banks have begun to undergo changes, each at its own pace and in its own style. Much greater changes are coming and some, if not all of the banks will be unrecognizable within a few years. These changes must, as this writer has noted before, begin at the top. But they must also be so far-reaching as to penetrate the very soul of each institution. Anything short of this will be inviting more trouble in the future.

Dealing with the Six Day War

Public warned to drop the notion 'occupation' descended on peaceful Arabs

SHMUEL KATZ

HERE IS A simple test — a kind of litmus test — to uncover the tactical gimmick of those Israelis, and others, who go on insisting that Israel must give up territory, specifically Judea and Samaria, and that this will bring peace. Watch how they deal with the Six Day War or, more precisely, how they do not deal, with the Six Day War.

Their attitude is usually grounded in the notion that one day in June 1967 an "Israeli occupation" suddenly descended on peaceful Arabs and their lawful king in their lawful territory; and the way to restore peace is naturally by restoring the "occupied territory."

Sometimes this tactic creeps, merely incidentally, merely "by the way," even subliminally, into otherwise innocent presentations. "An article in *The Jerusalem Post* last week (*Too soon to write off Jordan*, April 18), dealt with the birth and history of Jordan, and the ideas of its king on the future of Judea and Samaria: that is to say, by which Arabs it is to be ruled when Israel withdraws.

The article has several references to the 1967 war. One says that "the loss of the West Bank in the Six Day War did not prevent violent conflict between Hussein and the Palestinians." Another relates that "after 1967 Hussein realized he would not be able to restore the previous situation, hence his 1972 suggestion for a federation between the two banks." A third mention tells us that the agreement (in February 1985) between Hussein and Arafat provided for "total withdrawal by Israel from the territories occupied in 1967."

None of these statements is untrue; but an innocent reader unacquainted with the history, putting these references together, would never guess that Hussein "lost"

Judea and Samaria because he tried to overrun the rest of western Palestine — that is, to wipe the State of Israel off the map.

IF YOU IGNORE the cause and the context of the Six Day War, and flourish the "Israeli occupation" as the cause and the beginning of the dispute, all you need in order to restore the peace is to put an end to the "occupation." Q.E.D.

This code-formula is common to all the advocates of surrender to Arab demands — from the least sophisticated to the most subtle among them. They do not, manifestly they cannot, answer coherently the crucial questions that stare out from the events that preceded the Six Day War.

For example: Knowing that Israel was attacked with the proclaimed purpose of her annihilation when she was in possession of the area within the 1949 Armistice lines, how can you justify the demand that she return to those lines? Or: Knowing that an attenuated, vulnerable Israel was twice attacked from the east — by Abdullah in 1948 and by grandson Hussein in 1967 — and that Hussein has never expressed regret for either attack, has indeed described them (true to the Arab-Moslem doctrine) as *Zionist aggressions* — have you any demonstrable grounds for believing that were Israel to be reduced to the 1949 lines, Hussein or any other Arab leader would resist the temptation to plan a final offensive; or that,

with Israel so invitingly reduced, the Arab states as a whole would not, in concert with Jordan, organize and launch that attack? Can you explain why Egypt, having been given all of Sinai, insisted on a clause in the peace treaty which would legitimize her joining other Arab states in a future attack on Israel?

HERE IS A characteristic description of Israel and her neighbors:

"Day after day, the Egyptian, Jordanian, Syrian, Iraqi and Saudi Arabian armies listen to the hostile incitements and calls for war of their commanders and rulers. We are subjected almost every day to guerrilla war conducted against us by some of our neighbors, especially Egypt and Jordan."

And, amid a flood of Arab leaders' threatening declarations, King Hussein of Jordan sent a telegram to the Egyptian President: "We look forward to the future when the Arab flag will fly over our great stolen country."

"Stolen country"? Judea and Samaria? No, no. The date was July 28, 1956. The "stolen country" was Israel within the 1949 Armistice lines. The description of what the Arabs were doing was by then prime minister Ben-Gurion.

If Israel were to be stupid enough as to withdraw as demanded, and retain only the tiny "stolen" territory as before 1967 — how long would it be before Hussein and Mubarak and Assad and Arafat and company,

in the name of the Arab nation would launch a new and "final" version of their attempts in 1948 and 1967? How long indeed — a year, two years, three years?

SCORES OF times before 1967, Israel's condition was faithfully described in similar terms by Ben-Gurion. In 1963, for example, he stated it succinctly: "Israel is the only country in the world all of whose neighbors proclaim night and day that they are determined to destroy it." Sometimes it was depicted in even more eloquent terms, by Abba Eban, for years Israel's leading foreign affairs spokesman. He said simply that the pre-1967 lines were a "death-trap" (*The Jerusalem Post*, 19 June, 1967).

Today, Abba Eban is not the least important of the purveyors of the idea that the solution of Israel's security problem lies in her surrender of territory, even unto a staged withdrawal into the "death-trap." It must be recalled at once in his defence that it was he, as foreign minister in the horrible days preceding the Six Day War, who went cap-in-hand to the Western statesmen to remind them of their earlier pledge to come to Israel's support; he whom those frozen-faced statesmen sent back empty-handed, leaving Israel to her fate. (He was foreign minister also in 1973 when the Western statesmen, even more frozen-faced, denied access to their soil by American planes carrying supplies to a hard-pressed Israel.)

There are some then who will not begrudge him the present sunny smiles and warm welcome from those Western statesmen when he tells them of a willingness in Israel to return to that condition of pristine vulnerability which they are constantly urging upon Israel.

In a recent, characteristic article (*Verbal Roadblocks*, *The Jerusalem Post* March 21, 1986), dealing with the pitfalls of semantics, Eban begins the setting of his argument with: "Immediately after the Six Day War I proposed the acceptance of a simple formula under which a mediator would be appointed for a peaceful settlement."

How calm, how self-possessed, how irrelevant, how forgetful of the ferocious semantics of May 1967, the proclamations by all the Arab leaders of the imminent end of Israel and its people, of the exhilarant crowds in the streets of the Arab capitals welcoming their leaders' declared purpose. Forgetful Mr. Eban (indeed, the same Eban) himself, in his speech at the United Nations shudderingly described that purpose in the dread word "the final solution."

Now he sweeps that "final solution" under the carpet — and no Arab leader has given up that hope — and declares that "the very act of encounter (between Israel and the Arabs) unfreezes positions and creates unforeseen flexibilities." He knows there will be no unfreezing, no flexibility on the Arab side, that nothing except total compliance by Israel will be acceptable to the Arabs.

HE KNOWS IT from our common experience. Egypt signed a peace treaty after being offered one hundred per cent of her territorial demands and only after, at her insistence, a clause was inserted to legiti-



Is King Hussein looking forward to the day an Arab flag flies over "our great stolen country?" (Press Association)

mize her going to war again against Israel in company with other Arab states. As for Hussein, Eban knows that the only substantive difference between him and Arafat is over the question which of them will rule over Judea and Samaria once Israel has withdrawn from all the "occupied territory."

Nor is that all. Hussein has long known that in any negotiation as envisaged by Eban and his school, he will encounter a massive instant one-sided "flexibility" from Israel. Mr. Eban long ago confessed that (following Hussein's rejection of the Allon plan) at least some of the Labour Party leaders would offer Hussein 71 per cent of the territory as proposed in the Allon plan but with-

out a full contractual peace treaty. They would agree to a "de facto" peace (such as exists now...) pending a full peace — pending, that is, "negotiation" over the remaining 29 per cent. (Abba Eban in a *Ha'ir* interview September 23, 1983).

The Eban school does not appear to suspect that what they are juggling with is the heart of their national homeland. On the contrary, he himself has said that his party always regarded Judea and Samaria as "bargaining counters."

All in all, it need surprise nobody that these ideologists whose memories begin with June 12, 1967 are consistently vociferating (lest, the rest of us forget): "We are sane. We are sane."

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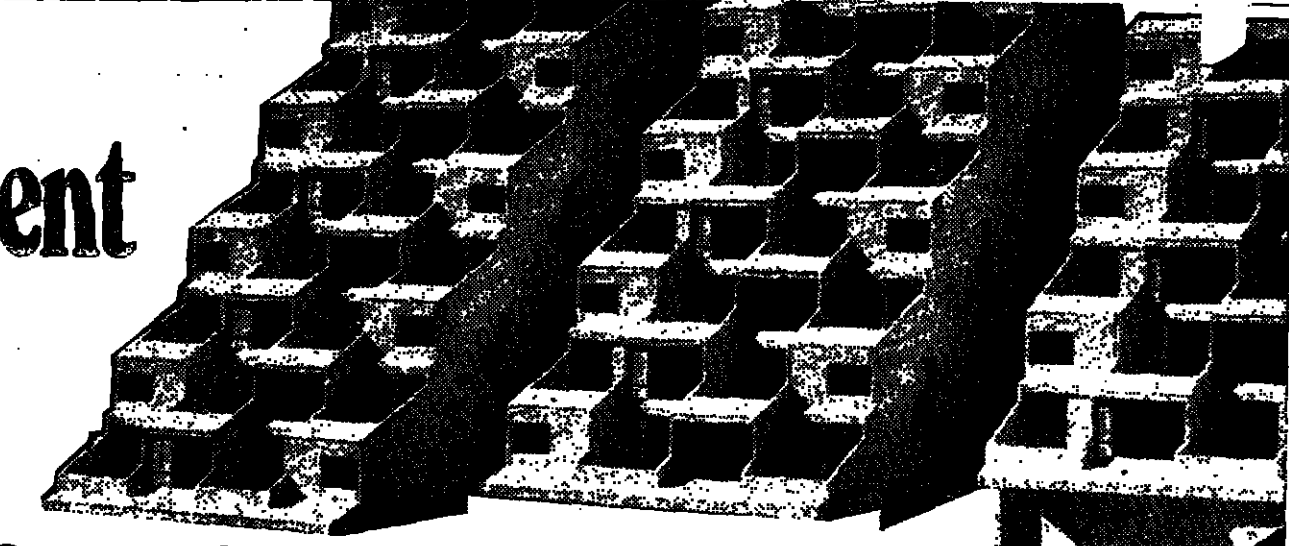
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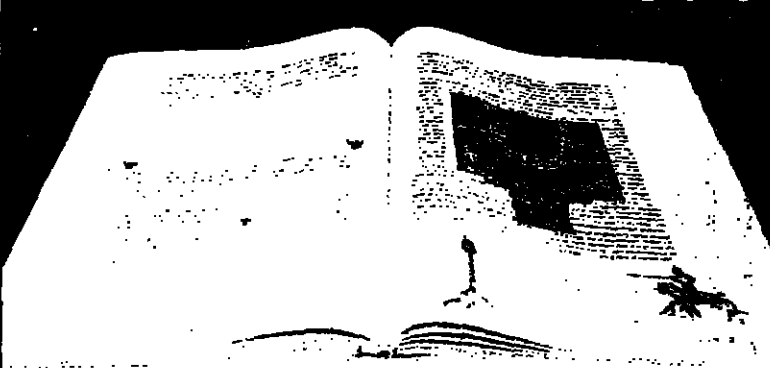
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FEATURES

OBSERVERS might be tempted to conclude that part of the traditional Passah-eve *biyur hameitz* ritual of Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon included bad memories of his Lebanon misadventure, especially the Kahan Commission Report. As the struggle for the Herut leadership waxed stronger, his pals can be heard arguing that he was never disqualified from serving again as defence minister.

What alerted Arik-watchers was the little-noticed attack on Israel Radio against the Kahan Commission Report by one of his inner circle of advisers, Rafael (Rafi) Eitan. He lately made his own headlines after being forced to quit as head of what was euphemistically known as Lekem (the Scientific Liaison Bureau) in the wake of the Jonathan Pollard affair. Exemplifying the unwritten rule that top Israeli spooks never fade away but invariably end up in luxurious board rooms, Eitan has retired into the lucrative chairmanship of Israel Chemicals, a job arranged by his patron.

In his radio interview, Eitan claimed authorship of the plan to break into Beirut in 1981. He also revealed that he was standing a few hundred metres from the Sabra and Shatila refugee camp when the Phalangists started their massacre. "Of course I knew nothing," he hastened to add. When queried why the other intelligence services never heeded army intelligence's warnings against relying on the Phalangists, he admitted to disagreements on their reliability, adding, "But no one was ready to put his career on the line over it." Eitan took the Menachem Begin government to task for having set up the inquiry commission, declaring, "No one can be judged for such happenings."

Understandably Eitan declined to be drawn on the Pollard case, otherwise he might have to explain how he recruited the man who phoned the Israel Embassy duty guard announcing, "I'm Jonathan Pollard of the Mossad," according to *Davar's* Washington Correspondent, Amir Oren.

Another signal for Arik-watchers has been his reported efforts to block the approval by the ministerial publishing committee on officials' books of the study of Israel's strategic policies by his old adviser, today the

director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, Aluf (res.) Avraham (Abrasha) Tamir. Someone who has a long acquaintance with Arik from their army days, Tamir reportedly offers some highly effective criticism of Sharon's entanglement of the IDF in the Lebanon morass. Sources close to the Ministerial Publishing Committee say Arik has spared few efforts to pressure its chairman (until recently), Moshe Nissim then minister of justice. Also on the committee are Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi. I gather that Tamir got so impatient over Nissim's delaying tactics that he even threatened to quit his present job to facilitate the committee's work. We're curious to see how Yitzhak Moda'i will run the committee.

PERHAPS the biggest *biyur hameitz* job in Israel's history has been performed by Supreme Court Justice Moshe Bejski and his inquiry commission into the bank shares collapse. It was illuminating to hear members of the bank managers "trade union" springing to their colleagues' defence, like David Golan, formerly general manager of the First International Bank of Israel, who termed the soon-to-retire bank bosses as "victims of the system." He claimed "it was high impossible not to be drawn into the share regulation merry-go-round." He forgot to mention for some reason the praise heaped on his successor at Fibi, Ben-Zion Ziv, for having kept the bank out of the game. Some people are already asking if the Bejski commission said the banking executives can never hold responsible jobs in banking again, why then was the door left open for Yoram Aridor to return to the Treasury?

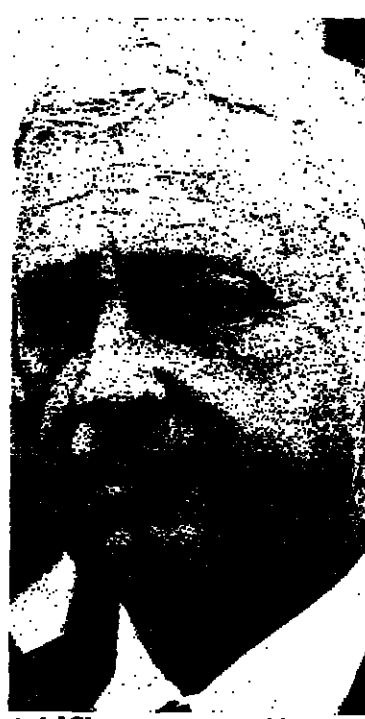
SAUDI billionaire Adnan Khashoggi claims having been the first to urge Prime Minister Shimon Peres to put forward his Middle East Marshall Plan - so it's written in his new biography *The Richest Man in the World* by *The Washington Post's* Ronald Kessler.

HOLIDAY CLEAN-UP

PUBLIC FACES / Mark Segal



Rafi Eitan (David Rubinger)



Ariel Sharon (Isaiah Karantony)



Sylvester Stallone (AP)

THE FIRST public appearance of Yitzhak Moda'i as justice minister turned into an all-out attack on Peres and the Labour party, whose ministers say Moda'i's heart may be in the right place, but no one's quite sure about his head.

I do think that Deputy Premier and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon is so generous in caring of his wife Ofra and their two children that he lets them have his ministerial limousine and chauffeur to take them for their dip at the Jerusalem Ramada Hotel swimming pool, and wait for them outside until they're ready to go home.

THE WOULD-BE Herutnik successors of Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir must have been sent into a tizzy after the Likud leader told *Davar* "I have no intention whatsoever of quitting politics

at the end of my term as premier" in two-and-a-half years' time. Asked about the expectations of his would-be heirs like Sharon and Deputy Premier David Levy, Shamir remarked, "I do not share their impatience."

SOME PEOPLE are wondering whether a lesson in geography might help Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz. They think that his obscurantist positions on so many issues, especially his opposition to summer time, come from his mistaken impression that the boundaries of ultra-Orthodox Bnei Brak encompass the frontiers of the State of Israel. Watching the Likud line-up behind Peretz in opposing the overwhelming public insistence on summer time made me wonder whether they've all joined the penitents' movement, and study at Peretz's mentor's rabbi Eliezer Schach's Ponevezh Yeshiva? At the cabinet meeting on summer

time, while Peretz lashed out at Energy Minister Moshe Shahal, he dodged Ya'acobi's question, "If the Almighty created summer and winter, giving us long days and short nights in summertime, why aren't people allowed to live according to His arrangements? Why can't we adapt ourselves to the Almighty's seasonal changes?" Peretz replied, "You sound just like a yeshiva student."

Not for nothing is Shahal named the minister of hyper-energy. In Jerusalem he greeted with dismay reports from his recent Washington visit, that he suggested to the Americans to cancel their long-standing guarantee of Israel's energy supplies, and instead build here oil reservoirs for the U.S. Sixth Fleet. I gather that at Sunday's cabinet meeting, when Shahal rebuked Minister-without-Portfolio Yigael Hurvitz for interrupting him,

time, while Peretz lashed out at Energy Minister Moshe Shahal, he dodged Ya'acobi's question, "If the Almighty created summer and winter, giving us long days and short nights in summertime, why aren't people allowed to live according to His arrangements? Why can't we adapt ourselves to the Almighty's seasonal changes?" Peretz replied, "You sound just like a yeshiva student."

OUR TOP people planned a low-key seder. President Herzog and his wife Anna, Beit Hamidr, Premier Peres and his wife Sonia at their home, and vice-premier Shamir and wife Shulamit at theirs. Knesset Speaker Shimon Peres was to fly back home in time for his family seder from a lightning visit to London, where he spoke at a fundraising dinner.

THE TOPIC of Premier Margaret Thatcher's support of U.S. counter-terrorist strikes dominated the conversation at the birthday party for Queen Elizabeth II held by British Ambassador William Squire and his wife Sara at their Ramat Gan residence. It was attended by Defence Minister Rabin, Communications Minister Amnon Rubinstein and Tourism Minister Avraham (Abrasha) Sharir.

JERUSALEM lawyer Aharon Baruchin who for years has volunteered his services for Yad Sara, the medical equipment loan society, has gone to court to sue the editor of the East Jerusalem paper *al-Fajr*, Hanna Seniora, who was to have been the PLO voice in the Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Seniora borrowed a wheelchair from Yad Sara for his ailing mother in June 1984 and has yet to return it. Baruchin says that despite three written and unspoken oral requests over the ensuing two years, the wealthy East Jerusalemite has failed to return the wheelchair. Incidentally, the PLO spokesman has an account with the United Mizrahi Bank.

THE LATEST in place in Tel Aviv is the Herbie Sams club, beneath the sea-front Yamit apartment hotel. The club's English manager, Nick Scrivens, told me they derived the name from the nearby Herbert Samuel promenade. Indeed the lobby is hung with archive photos of the first British high commissioner for Palestine, Baron Samuel of Carmel and Toxteth in Liverpool. Hearing that his grandson, the third Baron, known locally as Prof. David Samuel, was at the opening, I phoned him at the Weizmann Institute to seek his opinion of the club's name. "I could have thought of better ones," he said.

A swinging party was held at Herbie Sams at the end of shooting of the first of 12 Cannon Films children's movies, with such Hollywood actors as Clive Revill. Cannon general manager Yitzhak Kol told me they've just signed Sylvester Stallone for *Over the Top*, for which he will get \$12m. The film will be about arm wrestling, and Cannon is sponsoring the first world arm wrestling championship to promote the movie. The Israeli contest will be held in May, Kol told me.

DR SAMUEL Johnson declared that he liked a good hate, and I must admit that I myself enjoy an occasional good hate. A solid session of delectation purges the soul as a good laxative clears the bowels: it enables one to love the human race as a whole once more. So, when I saw in my programme notes that Yehiel Kadishai was to be this week's hero of *This is Your Life*, I settled myself in my armchair with a cheerful glass, and prepared myself for a session of intense revulsion.

Kadishai stands for everything of which I disapprove. He was a leader of Betar practically from the moment he was born. He belonged to IZL and Lehi, he tried to bring the *Alukah* to shore in 1948 in defiance of Ben-Gurion, so as to undermine the infant state, he was Menachem Begin's closest confidante, he served as head of the prime minister's bureau when Likud was mismanaging the country.

So it is hard to conceive of a man more calculated to provoke my wrath. When I saw all the usual gang of Likud characters assembled in Amos Ettinger's audience, I rubbed my hands in glee and summoned up as much bile as possible.

Alas! It was not to be. I remember, when my grandmother's best friend died suddenly, my mother thoughtfully kept the news from my grandmother to spare her pain, and, as a result, she missed the funeral. When my grandmother heard what had happened, she was furious, and exclaimed, "That's just like you, Katie! You grudge me every pleasure!" So it was with me and *This is*

Your Life. Kadishai proved to be such a hard man to hate that I was denied the pleasure of doing so.

Ettinger dismissed me right near the beginning by producing Lova Eliav to vouch for a man who thinks so differently from him. Lova described him in the most glowing and affectionate terms, as he recalled their youth in "little Tel Aviv." In this topsy-turvy, looking-glass world of ours, I have held firm to one guiding principle: anything that Lova says is good for Israel is good enough for me. Kadishai is highly enough of Kadishai to speak well of him in public, the man cannot be a monster.

My bewilderment intensified when a considerable slice of the programme was devoted to Kadishai's service in the Jewish Brigade and his rescue of Jews from the camps while on service. The Brigade and the way it exploited the British Army to smuggle Jews into Palestine form one of our most glowing legends, so there was nothing to hate there.

Mind you, there was a time when I believed that all Palestinian Jewish soldiers were insane. This was when I was serving in the South African army in Egypt, and we used to organize cricket matches in a slice of the desert. There was a Palestinian camp near ours, and the soldiers from it used to insist on walking slowly to the showers straight across the pitch. We yelled at them, screamed at them, threatened them with bat and ball, but they could not absorb the message that they should walk around the playing area.

Hard man to hate

TELEREVIEW / Philip Gillon

In retrospect, I suppose that they may have interrupted our cricket as a form of protest against the British Mandatory regime, although why they thought that the High Commissioner in distant Jerusalem worried about our cricket match I cannot fathom. No, I think my first explanation is the correct one: they were mad.

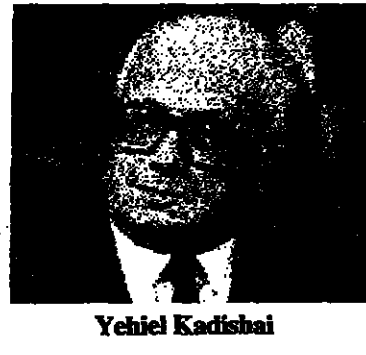
Now that I think about it, when we started to play cricket on the Tel Aviv beach, after the state was created, we had the same problem of people walking across the pitch. By then it was our own country, so we solved the problem by abandoning all efforts to shoot them off: instead we gave four runs for a drive into somebody's stomach, six if the batsman got him on the head. It was a somewhat dangerous solution, but it worked.

HERE I have been rambling away like an old buffer appearing on Amos Ettinger's programme. Now

where was I? Ah, yes, I was writing that Ettinger dismissed us by stressing the Brigade part of Kadishai's past. Then Ettinger introduced Bamji, Kadishai's wife, and I was lost: she was so charming that I decided to suspend hatred for the rest of the programme.

It is true that Kadishai made her an ardent supporter of IZL, Lehi and Likud, but we cannot blame her too much. She came from a household which knew nothing about Zionism, and she met a soldier in a strange uniform on a bicycle at a very critical moment in her life, and he fell instantly in love with her. A thing like that can easily influence an impressionable young girl to think wrong thoughts.

Then Kadishai himself turned out to be pleasant and interesting. One way and another, I actually found myself liking him. Perhaps I will have better luck when we come to Part 2, with the Likud in power, devastating Israel in the same way



Yehiel Kadishai

the Mongol hordes laid Europe waste. This should give us plenty of occasions for fury.

THE BRIGADE also featured prominently in Friday's *Party Time*, with Dudu Topaz serving as its compere for the first time. He was very nervous about it. One would have expected that so seasoned an entertainer would have taken such a programme in his stride, but he was obviously suffering from first night butterflies in the stomach. But he has nothing to worry about: he was excellent, and never made a single faux pas. I trust he will be retained

for future programmes. I was interested to learn that his talents were inherited from his father S.M. Goldenberg, who organized the 1944 Ensa group that went to Italy to entertain the Brigade. This included some of Israel's most talented actors, such as Yossi Yadin and Hanna Marron. Yadin sang a great duet with Nurit Golan, the daughter of a member of the troupe, about how good it would be to be home in their little hut on the Kinneret, drinking gazoz and eating a Tuva banana.

Though all the professionals were very good, the highlight of the show was provided by an amateur singer, Likud MK Meir Shitrit, who, Topaz told us, had been described by a newspaper as "the handsomest man in the Knesset." He is not only good-looking, he is also a very pleasant young man, with an excellent sense of humour, as he proved when he appeared recently on *Any Questions*.

He and Topaz had a short discussion about why good looks are so rare among Knesset members. Shitrit suggested that it is our electoral system that is to blame, because candidates are selected by cold and passionless political parties, without an eye for beauty. The position, Shitrit said, is quite different when there is a constituency system. He has a point. Look at Clint Eastwood becoming mayor of Carmel. Look at that other good-looking B movie hero's best friend, what's his name, oh yes, Ronnie Reagan.

Shitrit sang a song about "Serve you right, my darling," and proved to have a voice so good that it should not be confined to the shower-room. After the Likud loses the next election, he should take up singing as a career. Better still, I would like to see him mend the error of his ways, and transfer his allegiance to a party worthy of his looks and his singing.

IN ADDITION to these two programmes, we had another good episode of Near Ones and Dear Ones, so we cannot complain that we did not have some attractive indigenous fare for the festive week.

THE BRITISH thriller, *A Dog's Ransom*, came to an astonishing and completely unpredictable conclusion. At no stage had it been good, but it did use an interesting technique that I thought went out with old-fashioned movie serials.

Every episode ended with a blow from nowhere to the viewer's midriff. One time there was the gentle little cop beating up the nasty Pole with his truncheon; the next we had his sudden breakdown and confession to Mr. and Mrs. Reynolds; finally, we had P.C. Monster stabbing him and admitting that he himself had killed the Pole.

Every one of these developments was irrational, out of character and completely incredible. But they did at least shock us, although they were also exasperating.



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In the valley of the dry bones

TORA TODAY / Pinhas Peli

READING a portion of Tora (the Pentateuch) as part of the prayer service is among the most ancient practices in the Jewish liturgical tradition. Another practice is reading of the haftara ("conclusion"), a chapter selected from the books of the Prophets, which has a direct or associative link to the Tora portion. The connecting link between Tora and Prophets could be a person, an idea or even a word, which appears in both readings.

Whatever the historical circumstances that prevailed during the Second Temple period which prompted this practice, it comes to demonstrate the unity of the divine message inherent in Scripture as a whole. That is to say, Tora and Prophets speak the same language, although emerging from different times and backgrounds.

This practice of the reading from Scriptures as an integral part of the prayer service gave later liturgists the idea of seeing Jewish prayer not as a monologue, but as a dialogue. God speaks to us, or responds to us, in the voice of Tora and Prophet; we address Him, or respond to Him, in the voice of our prayers. In order to grasp the full meaning of any particular prayer, one must listen to both voices.

The reading from Tora was fixed at an early stage and follows the regular order of the Five Books of Moses (whether divided into a three-year cycle or, as practised today, in a one-year cycle). The selection from the Prophets of the proper haftara associated with any particular Tora reading was more of a free choice and was not fixed till much later. That is the reason for certain variations in the order of the haftara readings. There are also various interpretations as to the implicit connections linking Tora and haftara

together. Finding those connections is a favourite scholarly exercise among students of the "portion of the week."

THE DISCOVERY of the linkage between the Tora reading for the Sabbath of Passover (*shabbat hol-moed pessah*), and its haftara, does not require much speculative research; it is rather obvious. Passover marks, as we know, the festival of springtime in nature as well as the rebirth of a free people emerging out of the shackles of slavery. What more appropriate prophetic reading as the haftara for that day than the 37th chapter of Ezekiel: "The hand of the Eternal was laid upon me; he carried me off in the spirit and set me down in a valley. It was full of bones; he made me go all round them, and I saw that they were very many on the surface of the valley, and very dry. 'Son of man,' He said, 'can these bones live?' 'O Lord Eternal,' I answered, 'that is known only to Thyself.' He said to me, 'Prophesy over these bones; say to them, 'O dry bones, listen to the words of the Eternal.' The Lord the Eternal has this word for the bones: 'I will make the breath of life enter you. I will put sinews upon you and cover you with flesh, and put breath into you; so shall you live, and learn that I am the Eternal.'"

Ezekiel hesitates to take upon himself the tremendous responsibility of redemption and resurrection. "That is known only to Thyself," he says to God. God too does not wish to do it all by Himself. He wants to perform the marvelous act in partnership with the prophet who must put in his share of the faith and hope necessary for such an extraordinary

act. It is the prophet who must summon the "spirit from the four corners of the earth" to "breathe life into those corpses."

Eventually Ezekiel does what he was told. From there on, we too follow the prophet step by step and in great suspense, as the miracle gradually takes place. The dry bones come to life "and stood upon their feet, a mighty host of them."

"Son of man," He said to me, "these bones are the whole community of Israel. They cry out because they are dry, and their hope is gone, and they are undone! Prophesy therefore to them, tell them this word from the Lord the Eternal: 'O my people, I will open your graves and bring you out of your graves, back to the land of Israel... I will put my spirit into you and you shall live, and I will restore you to your own land.'"

This dramatic chapter from Ezekiel, considered by many, Jews and gentiles alike, among "the greatest prophetic visionary orations," is the haftara recited after the reading of the Tora on the Sabbath that falls during Passover. It reflects the story of redemption from the doomed grave of captivity into the light of the life of freedom. But its main emphasis is still, as it was for Ezekiel—the first prophet of uprootedness and exile—a message for the future and the present.

AN UNFORGETTABLE evening in Jerusalem in 1946, or was it 1947? It was at the time when some shattered remnants of the Jewish people were breaking out of the European post-Holocaust graveyard, trying to make their way to the land of Israel and being cruelly shipped back from its shores as "illegals." Jewish underground activists of Hagana, the Irgun and the Stern group were bitterly suppressed by the authorities. The city was besieged, the country at its lowest mood.

A young boy from the Orthodox Mea She'arim quarter found himself on that evening in the midst of so-called "secular Jews" gathered in a home in the fashionable Rehavia quarter. They gathered to discuss the *matzav*, the gloomy situation and its even gloomier prospects. Many hard, painful questions were asked that evening by some learned, well-informed speakers. There were doubts: deep sighs and even tears were rolling down some cheeks. Towards the end of the meeting, instead of listening to another learned informative speech, a "secular" Jew, a short and stout man (I later discovered that it was the famed Habima actor Yehoshua Bertonov), stood up in the middle of the dimly-lit, crowded living-room and read aloud in a clear, resounding voice, word by word, the 37th chapter of Ezekiel originally uttered more than 2,000 years ago.

As he finished, the meeting dispersed in total silence. Not a syllable was uttered. All questions were answered. Each person knew, or thought that he knew, what he or she was supposed to do now. Hope again filled the hearts.

The young boy who happened to be there on that evening would never forget the meeting, its conclusion with the words of Ezekiel and the total silence that followed them.

RELIGIOUS SERVICES

SHABAT	BEGINS	ENDS
Jerusalem	5.36 p.m.	6.53 p.m.
Tel Aviv	5.54 p.m.	6.55 p.m.
Haifa	5.47 p.m.	6.55 p.m.
Bnei Brak	5.53 p.m.	6.51 p.m.
Eilat	5.51 p.m.	6.50 p.m.

Tora Portals: from Ki Tissa

JERUSALEM
JERUSALEM GREAT SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Shabbat service for tourists 8.30. Mincha 5.50. Saturday, Shabbat 8.00. Cantor Nafali Herzog, and G. Synagogue Choir, directed by Eli Jaffe.

YESHURUN CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE, Friday, Mincha 6.00, Shabbat 8.00. Mincha 12.45, 6.00. Maariv 6.30. Hazan: Asher Heinevitz. Hol Hamoed - Shabbat 6.00, 7.00. Mincha 6.10. Arvit 6.50. Tuesday, Mincha 6.00, Wednesday (Yom) Shabbat 8.00, Mincha 6.10, Arvit 6.55.

WORLD COUNCIL OF SYNAGOGUES, Conservative, Agmon, Friday, 5.30. Shabbat 8.30. Tuesday, 5.55. Shabbat 8.30. Hazan: Hana Rumeis.

REBEV UNION COLLEGE, Jewish Institute of Religion (Reform), 13 King David St. Tomorrow, Saturday, 10 a.m. Wednesday, 10 a.m.

SHAAREI RATZON, Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Israel, Istanbul Synagogue, Jewish Quarter, Old City, WEDNESDAY, Shabbat, 8.00. Details: 02-877954.

TEL AVIV
GREAT SYNAGOGUE, 110 Allenby Rd. Shabbat 8.00.

CHRISTIAN

JERUSALEM
REDEEMER CHURCH (Lutheran) Munster Rd. Old City, Jerusalem. Sunday Service: English 9 a.m. German 10.30 a.m. Tel. 262-43, 280-201.

CHRIST CHURCH (Anglican) opp. Chadel, 7300 Holy Communion, 9.30 Family service, 7.00 p.m. Evening service.

BAPTIST CONGREGATION, 4 Narkis, West Jerusalem. Sunday services: 9.00 a.m. Bible study, 10.30 a.m. Worship. Tel. 225-942.

ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH OF SCOTLAND near Railway Station, Sunday morning service, 10 a.m., Tel. 02-714659.

PENTECOSTAL WORSHIP SERVICE, MT. ZION FELLOWSHIP, 7.30 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun., Tel. 283-964.

ST. PAUL'S (Protestant), 32 Shikva Yisrael, 6.30 p.m. Saturday, Tel. 02-717988.

JERUSALEM CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY, YMCA auditorium, 20 King David St., Tel. 223-014, Sunday, 7 p.m.

JERUSALEM CHURCH OF GOD (Seventh Day), "House Of Prayer For All People" - Pastor Gordon M. Fuchs, Shabbat service: 10.30 a.m., 15 Elia Regel St. (Mitzpeh Abu Tor), Tel. 718814.

TEL AVIV
DANIEL CHURCH (Lutheran) Tel Aviv-Yafo, 15 Rehov Beer Holman (near 17 Rehov Eliav) Tel. 520654. Saturday's service 11 a.m. Service in English every Sunday at 10 a.m.

HAIFA
ELIAS CHURCH (Lutheran) Haifa, 43 Meir Street, Saturday Service 11 a.m. Tel. 04-523581.

OTHER CENTRES
BAPTIST VILLAGE CONGREGATION, 2 km. north of Petaf Tziva. Saturday Service. Bible study 9.30 a.m. Worship 10.30 a.m. Tel. 053-32832.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (MORMON CONGREGATIONS)
Jerusalem: 38 Nablus Road (next to the Ambassador Hotel), Tel. 02-815254. Tel Aviv: 27 Shevet Menashe St., Herzliya, 052-77756. Galilee: 15 Shilomo Hanelech St., Tiberies, 067-02209. Workshop Services each Saturday from 9 a.m. to 12.

Notices are accepted for this column, appearing every Friday, at a rate of NIS 6.90 per line, including VAT. Publication every Friday over a period of a month costs NIS 20.70 per line, including VAT.

ART GUIDE

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JERUSALEM Museums

ISRAEL MUSEUM, "A Man and His Land," Moshe Dayan collection (Permanent Display of Israel Art) © Dorothy Bohm, photographs of art in context, audio-visual program on development of Israel Art. "Friendly Butterfly," illustrations by Orat Eyal. "From the Depths of the Sea (Rock relief)" © Early 20th century avant-garde (214-16.5) Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur., 10-12; Fri., 10-12. Open during Passover.

JERUSALEM MAP HOUSE, 7 Beit El St., Old City. 288-338, 423-547. Roberts, Turner, etc.

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OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II. 6 Or Hahaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun., Thur., 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

L.A. ISRAELI MEMORIAL INSTITUTE FOR ISLAMIC ART. Visiting hours: Sun., Thur., 10-12; Sat., 10-12. Closed, Sat. and holidays. 10-12. 2 Harelmech St., Tel. 02-6612912. Bus No. 15.

OLD YISHUV COURT MUSEUM. Life in the Jewish community in the Old City, mid-19th century-World War II. 6 Or Hahaim, Jewish Quarter, Old City. Sun., Thur., 9 a.m.-4 p.m.

Conducted Tours
Tourists and Visitors. Come and see the General Israel Orphan Home for Girls, Jerusalem, and its manifold activities and impressively modern building. Free guided tours weekdays between 9-12. Bus No. 14, 24 or 5, Kiyat Moshe. Tel. 523231.

HADASSAH - Hourly tours of the Chapel Windows at Kiyat Hadassah on the half hour. * Information, reservations: 02-416333, 02-446271.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 8, 28, 24 and 16.
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman

SIR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSOHN MUSEUM at Heichal Shalom

Permanent Exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People. Special Exhibition: The Last Jews of Radauti. Special Pesach exhibition.

Galleries
NISHKENOT SHA'ANANIM, Fisher Hall, Tel. 224321. Omer Lellouche, Selected Works (214-16.5) Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur., 10-12; Fri., 10-12. Open during Passover.

JERUSALEM MAP HOUSE, 7 Beit El St., Old City. 288-338, 423-547. Roberts, Turner, etc.

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HAIFA Museums

THE REUBEN AND EDITH HECHT MUSEUM FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ERETZ ISRAEL, at Haifa University, open Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur., 10-12; Fri., 10-12. Entrance free.

HAIFA MUSEUM, 26 Shabbat Levy St. Tel. 04-523255. Exhibitions: Modern Art - Reuben Rubin, the portrait in his work in retrospective. Material - a Medium of Expression: Pop Art - its Influence, its Consequences. Ancient Art - Jewish coins of the Second Temple Period, Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines, Shikmona finds. Music and Ethnology - Jewish costumes; 20 porcelain pieces from the Fels and Natan Centik collection U.S.A. Open: Sun.-Thur. 10-12; Fri. 10-12. Tel. 04-210864. Includes admission to National Maritime, Japanese and Prehistory Museums.

OTHER CENTRES

SAFAD, Israel Bible Museum. Experience the Bible through the art of international artist, Phillip Ratner.

Ma'ariv THE JERUSALEM POST

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Vehicles

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Available immediately. Subaru, Opel, Ford, Audi, Golf, 1986, array of colors. 03-235824, 03-225217.

Bargain, 1982, Innocenti Mita, 2nd owner, NIS 7,300, excellent. 03-238821.

Charade, 1983, air conditioner, alarm, radio, past rental. 03-457899.

Charade, 1985, like new, air conditioner, radio, 15,000. 03-997144.

Direct from rental company, Fura, Rhodas, 1984 & 1985; Subaru, 1983; Fiat 131, automatic, 1600, 1983. 03-490083; work, 063-2273.

From private, Charade, automatic, 1986, new, metallic. 03-731043.

Yatit LTD., credit for acquiring new car. Call, 03-221161.

Ronda, 1985, Porsche engine, 6,000km, one owner, guaranteed. 03-90849.

Ronda GLX, 1985, one owner, private, 03-490663; work, 063-2273.

Ronda, 1984, one owner, 25,000km, alarm. 03-31696.

Reza GLI 1.2, 1985, one owner, private, guaranteed. 03-87653.

Rishon LeZion Agency, 1986 models, speedy delivery, exchange possible, licensed garage, original spare parts. 03-996643.

Suzuki Swift, 1985, beautiful, one owner, extras. 03-598222, not Shabbat.

Suzuki Swift, automatic air conditioner, two months on road, extras. 04-725984, 04-72037.

Suzuki Swift GLI, 1984, 7605SE, Saturday, 10.00-18.00.

Charade 83, one owner, well kept, 5 years, air conditioner. 03-85729.

Charade 1984, air conditioner, 5 years, 40,000km, one owner, NIS 18,800. 03-72787.

Charade 83, one owner, from rental, radio, air conditioner, year's test. 03-47626.

Madness! 10% reduction, due to holiday, all types of Audi, 80-100 + power; Opel; Subaru; Erics; BMWs; Mercedes. 03-462039, 04-473733.

Seat 124, 1978, 2nd owner, excellent, test, list price. 03-455210.

ALFA ROMEO

Alfa 33, 1984, 35,000km, air conditioner, radio-tape, Gray shield spray. Piromagen. 03-732398, 03-727077; work, 03-732398.

Alfa Romeo 1200, 1982, 2nd owner, like new, stereo. 238705.

Alfa Romeo 1300, 1981, one owner, excellent. 03-91296, 03-924735, home.

Alfa Romeo 1500, 1982, one owner, 15,000. 03-426410, 03-446158.

Alfasud, 1982, test, 46,000km, first owner, first served. 03-41028.

Alfasud 1.2, 1982, 80,000km, one owner. 03-971867, 03-234163.

Bargain, Alfa Romeo, 1975, engine 1986, test. 03-782588, 03-789883.

Exchange your old car for one of Alfa's new 1986 models, exchange possible. 03-490683, 03-22723.

Alfa 33, 1985, 12,000km, one owner. 03-871434, 03-87000.

Alfa Romeo 1200, 1982, 61,000, well kept, test, list price. 03-425400.

Sprint 1.5, 1983, 1st price, 30,000km. 03-352084.

Sprint 1.5, 1984, one owner, NIS 22,000, 25,000km. 03-428371.

Sud 75, mechanically good, bargain price. 03-240225, 03-510451.

Alfa 33, golden, 1984, 25,000km. 04-24614.

Alfa Romeo 1600, 1981, original, air conditioning, magnesium, 1985-1986.

GTV 2000, 79, 130,000km, excellent. 1st price. 03-919160.

Sud 1200, 1983, beautiful, radiotape, alarm, metallic. 940027.

Alfa Romeo 1600, 1979, after overhaul, like new, additions. 480822.

AUDI

80, 1983, 4 gears, excellent. 90305.

80, 1983, one owner, from IDF disabled. 03-49912.

80, automatic, 1600/1983, 25,000km. 03-97229, evenings.

80/1300, 1984, one owner, 22,000km, metallic. 03-92298, 03-38025.

Audi 1600, automatic, from disabled. 1983, 16,000km. 03-30601, work; 03-57186, home.

Audi 80, GLS, 1600, automatic, 1980, 62,000km, beautiful. 03-751915, work; 03-351404, home.

Audi 80, automatic, GLI, 1983, one owner, well kept, extras, guarantee, Audi Agency list price. 03-35754.

Audi 100, LF, automatic, 1972, 03-24285, 03-34308, office.

Audi 80, 1983, 1600cc, automatic, one owner. 03-22682.

Audi 80, GL, 1600, 33,000km, 1983. 04-246173.

Audi 1600, automatic, 1983, one owner, like new. 03-338480.

80/1600, 1983, automatic, power steering, 03-440644, 03-660138.

80, 1983, 1300, one owner, well kept, 03-356151.

Audi 50, 1977, 1983 engine, one owner, excellent. 03-246923.

Audi 80, 1983, 24,000km, excellent, one owner. 804548.

Audi 80/1, well kept. 03-459321.

From disabled, 80, 1600, GL, 38,000, 1983 + test. 03-922389, not Shabbat.

AUSTIN, MORRIS

Metro 1300 S, 1982, well kept, 64,000. 03-490708, 03-537745.

Autohatchback 1300, 1982, excellent, test, one owner. 03-54766.

1980, 1975, test in October, excellent. NIS 3,300. 03-10105.

1979, one owner, 52,000, red, wonderful. NIS 7,000. 899062.

Metro 1300, 1983, one owner, 34,000km, metallic. 03-82544.

Metro 1300, 1983, red, alarm, well kept. 03-916264.

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Autohatchback 1300, 1984, metallic, like new, 24,000. 03-33377, 03-923474.

Autohatchback 1300, 1984, excellent, former rental, one owner, year's test. 03-32425.

Bargain, Junior, 83, 1983, excellent condition. 03-74310, 03-35130.

Elegant 81, test for 8 months, good condition. 03-76085.

Elite, 1982, 2nd owner, 46,000km, excellent. 03-998987.

Everett 78, excellent, nice, 3rd owner, 108,000km, 1st price. 03-760633.

Junior 83, from private, excellent condition. 03-416138; work, 03-313929.

Junior 85, 19,000km, stereo, mechanically excellent. 03-936782.

Junior, 1983, 2nd owner, private, 40,000km, test. 03-58294.

Junior, 1986, new, 03-357712, work. 03-458124, 03-458124.

Autohatchback 1977, mechanically good. 03-74933.

Bargain, Autohatchback 1982, private. Work. 03-266644; home, 03-396287.

Junior, 1983, 38,000km, from rental, beautiful, excellent. 03-31169.

Junior, 1984, one owner, from rental, year's test, like new. 03-598542.

Junior, 1982, 38,000, one owner, test, 1987. 714277, 769294.

Regular, 1978, 127,000km, from rental, after bodywork and spray. NIS 4,500. 03-31148.

Autohatchback Junior, 1982, private, 2nd owner, excellent. Work. 03-362664.

Autohatchback Junior, 1983, from rental, excellent, bargain. 844062.

Autohatchback, blue, 1982, 72,500, one owner, 1st price. 03-356460.

Junior, 1980, from rental, mechanical, by excellent, test. 5,500. 03-426765.

Junior 80, from rental, excellent condition. 03-471987.

LEX, 1984, metallic, electric windows, excellent condition. 03-316369.

Elegant, 80, 70,000, 2nd owner, from private, 1st price. 03-27362.

Elite, 1982, one owner, excellent condition. NIS 10,000. 03-354550.

Junior, 1983, excellent condition, year's test, radiotape (from rental). 03-257760.

Junior, 1986, metallic, 30,000km. 03-916890, not Shabbat.

Junior, 86, brand new, before running in. 03-50326.

B.M.W.

316 H, 1984, from driving school, extras. 127,000km, 36,000. 857652.

318 E, 1981, 2nd owner, automatic, metallic, air conditioner, stereo, roof, exchange possible. 03-719163, 03-255153.

316, 1983, automatic, metallic, tinted windows, beautiful, 1st price. 03-490642.

316, automatic, 1986, electric windows and locks, extras. 230377, 912675.

318, 1979, 518, 1987, both automatic, air conditioner. 03-656608, 03-803140.

318 E, 1981, with all extras. 03-44784, 03-38149.

320 E, 1984, 36,000km, personal import, one owner, all possible extras. 03-444821, 03-454473.

BMW 316, 1980, 1984, one owner, air conditioner, metallic. 03-59979.

BMW 518, 1978, 105,000km, test in November, excellent condition. 04-49044.

BMW 1600 Coupe, 1972, well kept, excellent. 03-961265.

Seeking 528, 1980-1982, standard shift, Sarel. 03-348789, 03-551088.

520, 1979, power steering, 6-cylinders, 16,500. 03-924759.

CITROEN

1966, excellent engine, year's test, NIS 490, 963-3670.

For sale, Citroen Visa, 1983, 27,000km, excellent. 03-738732.

GSA Pallas, 1982, one owner, personal import. 03-222524, 03-463021.

GS C-matic, 1978, excellent. 03-720130; work. 03-702402, home.

GS, 1973, well kept, excellent, test, personal import. 03-556147.

GSA Pallas, 1981, alarm, excellent condition, like new. 03-99666.

GSA Pallas, 1984, gold metallic. 12,000. 03-843156.

Must sell GS, 1975, good condition. 03-864154, 03-26534.

1124, 1983, black, special, year's test. 03-54254.

Bargain, Visa Super, 1983, test, 1987, radio-tape. 03-474339.

Citroen Visa Club, 1982, 25,000km, one owner, 1st price. 235031, morning. 702115, evenings.

Citroen GSA Pallas C-matic, 1981, 03-25738, 03-447552.

Citroen Visa, 1984, one owner, 20,000km, like new. 03-851911.

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GS Pallas, 1979, third owner, 113,000km, excellent. 1st price. 03-44774.

Must sell, GSA 1129, 1983, 40,000km. 03-768005.

Pallas, 1983, 64,000, one owner. NIS 14,000. 03-415363, 03-448548.

Visa 1100, 82, one owner, excellent condition. 03-89939, 03-7516928.

Visa 1124, 1982, one owner, metallic, original, excellent. 03-28901.

Visa 1124, 1983, black, special, year's test. 03-54254.

Visa Super 82, excellent, 27,000, year's test. 03-805232.

GSA Pallas, 1982, C-matic, one owner, test, 50,000km. 03-941763; work. 03-34185, work.

GSA, 82, extras, test, like new, 47,000km. 03-911281.

Visa 83, one owner, 42,000, year's test. 47481, 03-42681.

Visa Super, 1982, one owner, 55,000. 03-33420, not Shabbat.

COMMERCIAL CARS

Commercial mini-bus, Caravel, CL, 1984, one owner, automatic, original air conditioner, dark windows, luxurious new condition. 03-49687, 03-46166.

Commercial Renault, 4, 1981, excellent condition, like new. 03-483828.

From private, Fiorino, 1981, 50,000km, excellent condition. 32236.

GMC Jimmy, 1981, automatic, extras, air conditioner. 03-38966, home.

Lorry Mack DM, 1977, cement mixer, tipper, alarm, 92547.

Peugeot 37, 1975, second owner, private, excellent condition. 03-913974.

Transit, 1974, engine overhaul, mechanically excellent. 03-5423.

Transit, 1981, from company. 03-92388, 03-92388.

Transporter, 1982, 10 passengers, windows, test, original. 03-78787.

Transporter, 1985, windows and benches, one owner, commercial Volkswagen, 1981, one owner; double cabin, 1983. 03-454473.

Transporter, 1986, original benches and windows, for passengers. 22244, 9610204.

D 500, 1977, general overhaul, also for driving school. 03-826510, 03-47359.

Ford Transit, 1973, for sale, Haifa, 3000cc, engine, excellent condition. 069-37017, 069-37058.

For sale, Peugeot 504 van, 1982. 03-474032.

Ford Transit, 1980, new condition. Mechanist Tzoref. 03-373593.

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Peugeot 504, 1982, one owner, excellent condition, private. 03-248116.

Peugeot 504, 1982, standard body, one owner; Peugeot 404, 1974, standard body. 03-454473.

Peugeot 15 + windows, excellent condition, 1983, one owner. 03-922628-8, 03-922628-8.

Ron Carmel van, 1980; Subaru 1300, 1982. 03-540815, 03-82563.

Ron van, 1980, one owner, body, test. 242008, 923017.

Subaru 1800, 1981, 4x4, standard body. 03-95935.

Subaru 600, 1980, standard body. 03-490883; 03-22723, work.

Subaru van, 1980, 1980, 4x4, from private. 1st price. 03-484370.

Talbot van, 1983, excellent, test, 9300. 03-746331, 03-783094.

Transit, 1980, air conditioner, alarm, radio, bars, 8,500. 03-869637.

Transit, 1985, German, for touring, 12 seats, from private, NIS 25,000. 03-70630.

Transit 1974, engine before overhaul, can be dismantled. 03-45375.

D 500, 1977, general overhaul, also for driving school. 03-826510, 03-47359.

Carmel van 1975, with box. 03-36770, 03-92322.

Mercedes minibus 309, 1981, air conditioner, work. 03-912863, 03-912863.

Petrolgas, Rishon LeZion, seeking Subaru 1600 van, 1983 onwards. 03-99995, Yisrael.

Renault 13 on inclusive 1983, credit possible. 03-764610.

Subaru 1600, 1980, 75,000km, one owner. 03-312258, 03-751088.

D 500, 1977, general overhaul, also for driving school. 03-826510, 03-47359.

504, 1983, 70,000km, excellent condition, 03-458352; residence, 03-454744.

Under a war cloud?

MARIAN MUSHKAT

EVER MORE people realize that the stalemate in our region can only produce a new war. Taking into consideration the arms race, the new war may be more devastating than ever before, but as in the case of past confrontations, lacking any chance of ending the conflict.

Such a war may start accidentally, and even be contrary to the policy of the governments involved, but caused by action of terrorists or other elements opposing peace.

They are particularly strong in Lebanon and in Syria. In Lebanon quarrelling factions not subject to any central authority abound.

Syria is ruled by a government openly declaring that it is preparing a renewed aggression and continually pressing the Soviet Union for more arms. In both these countries, top politicians who reject any form of peaceful co-existence of all nations in the area are heavily subsidized by irresponsible Libyan and Iranian leaders.

The Jordanian option is, for the time being, an illusion. The superpowers are unable to impose a peace treaty, and the antagonists are not ready to negotiate such a treaty even without pre-conditions.

There seems therefore, no way to prevent renewed bloodshed other than by unilateral Israeli actions aimed at preventing new armed confrontations and enlarging the rights of the local population to assist the building of confidence and security measures favourable to all parties.

Hence the importance of Peres's proposals to discharge the Israeli administration in the most densely populated areas of the West Bank and Gaza, and create a true self-administration—the local population not having any other choice after the withdrawal of the Israelis.

Only such a move might lead to a moderate local leadership, qualified to talk with Israel and influence other segments of the Palestinian population and Arab states to follow the same path, a leadership also resolved not to tolerate anti-Israeli actions in order to prevent a riposte and the liquidation of the seeds of national freedom.

Unfortunately, the discussions on stopping unemployment, on assistance to various ailing economic and social institutions, on speeding up economic recovery and the tumult at the Herut convention, overshadowed Peres's new proposals.

However, the proposals' importance will continually grow because they suit the interests of all parties and the meaning of the Camp David agreements, while the interpretation of the concept raised by Begin and conceived in terms of personal autonomy appears ever more superannuated. It never pleased the Labour Alignment. Its leaders still support the idea of a territorial compromise used as a basis of the Allon Proposal.

Such a compromise was seen as corresponding to UN Resolution 242, calling for the withdrawal from territories to newly negotiated lines aimed at strengthening Israel's security. Instead, the Likud considers the concept as one which contradicts the "Greater Israel" orienta-

ably in mind, not the protection of minorities in some East-European countries in the aftermath of World War I, but rather the capitulations, a regime of tolerance of religious freedom of Christian and Jewish traders under Moslem rule, and particularly the experience of Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the Middle Ages, where they got a self-administration in matters of custom, religion and internal jurisdiction in the form of local parliaments and the "Committee of Four Lands." It should be noted that the present situation and aspirations of the Palestinians have nothing in common with the former arrangements. On the other hand, the British Mandate in Palestine, contrary to the obligations to assist Jews in building their national home, imposed immigration quotas and other limitations. The struggle against these restrictions played an important role in the passage from Jewish autonomy to sovereignty.

To be true, the bad experience with all forms of autonomy inclined the architects of the UN to reconfirm in the charter the principle of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, and the duty to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms (the personal autonomy?). Considering the failure of various autonomous schemes, they decided also on the creation of two states in Palestine. Jewish and Palestinian, a solution unfortunately rejected by the Arabs. Preferring to build a Palestinian state not alongside the State of Israel but through its liquidation. However, since the Six Day War, the subject has been raised again in various bodies. All of them press the Palestinians to recognize UN Resolutions 242 and 338, to delete from the PLO convention the disposition to exterminate the State of Israel, and begin negotiations in a way similar to that taken by Israel, Egypt and the U.S. in the Camp David agreements. Besides, the latter reconfirm the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to self-determination and their right to veto any arrangements unacceptable to them and proposed after a provisory status within five years.

Unfortunately, all efforts to advance a peace-building process in the area, both in this and other ways, were rejected by extremists. Discharging the Israeli administration in large areas of the West Bank and, in particular, in Gaza, means for Israel getting rid of a large hostile population. In the West Bank it means removing an even larger hostile population, without minimizing Israel's security interests while strengthening the ties of the local authorities to Jordan. Therefore the relevant recent proposals of Peres seem to be the optimal solution to advance the cause of peace, justice and freedom for all peoples of the region, and deserving to risk the break of the rotation.

Prof. Mushkat heads the Tel Aviv-based Institute for the Study of International Affairs.

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ECONOMIC FEATURES

THE EASIEST way for top management to slip out of an unpleasant situation is to blame the person on a lower rung of the managerial ladder. This is what happened with Solel Boneh.

Yisrael Kessar, secretary-general of the Histadrut, had a heart-to-heart talk with Danny Rosolio, General-Manager of Hevrat Ha'ovdim, and Rosolio had another heart-to-heart talk with Shragai Rotman, then head of Solel Boneh.

After 37 years in Solel Boneh, the last 10 years as its general manager, Rotman was not exactly fired. But he was convinced to opt for early retirement (he was born in 1921). He was replaced by Ehud Shilo, a much younger man, who formerly headed Solel Boneh International.

Only time will tell if Rotman was made a scapegoat, or if he justly bears the burden of responsibility. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. Present hindsight indicates that Rotman indeed made mistakes, but so does every manager in trying to steer a company

between the various shoals of danger.

BUT THREE mistakes should be mentioned. When the decline hit the construction industry some years ago, Solel Boneh shifted its emphasis from working for others with their money as a contractor, to initiating its own projects on funds raised from others. Solel Boneh investments was set up. So far, this company has not been as successful as the hopes placed in it.

Early in 1983, Solel Boneh made a more serious mistake. Competing with it for many projects was the Drucker construction firm. The latter, by underbidding Solel Boneh (it had many more Arab workers from the West Bank than Solel Boneh), was squeezing Solel Boneh out of a continuously shrinking construction market. But if Drucker had the

MACABEE DEAN

work, it did not have the financing, and began to move into a sticky situation. By taking over Drucker, Solel Boneh thought it would have the work and could obtain financing from Histadrut sources. Solel Boneh did obtain the financial means to buy Drucker and to finance its construction projects, but at a high price.

According to private contractors, Solel Boneh began to lose money on two fronts: its own and that of its new affiliate. In some tenders, the two companies even bid against each other.

The third mistake was a "damned if you do, and damned if you don't" situation. Rotman had to run a competitive company, yet he was not allowed to be competitive, due to the

socialist idealism permeating his employers, the Histadrut, and which he also shared.

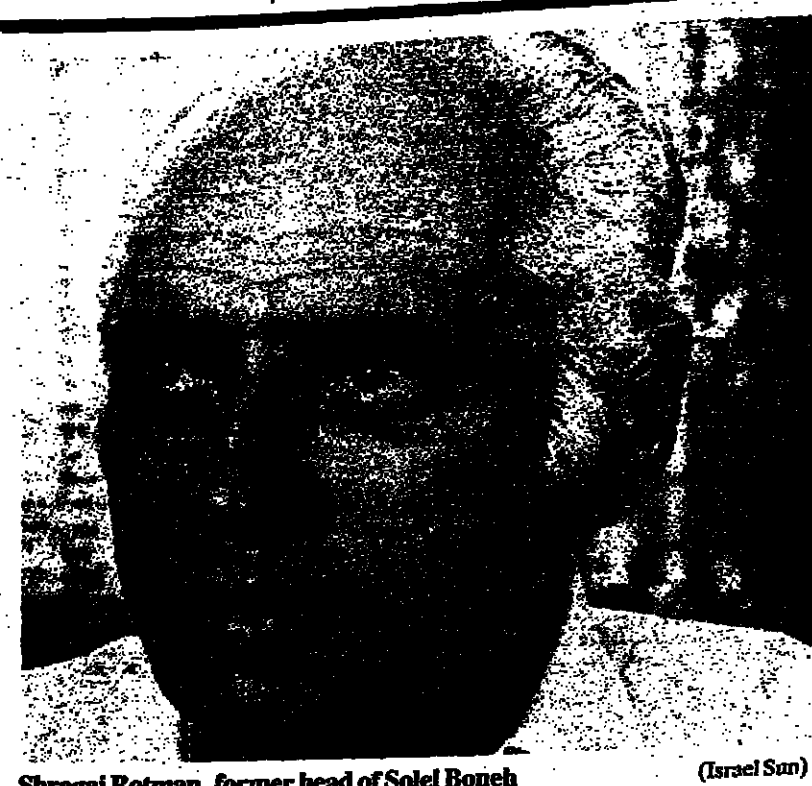
The company's low ratio of cheap Arab labour has already been mentioned. But in January 1983, a new problem arose. Despite the shrinking market, the Histadrut (then headed by Yeroham Meshel), insisted that construction workers get a 15 per cent wage hike. According to private contractors, Rotman ran to them and asked them to form a solid front to fight this wage demand. Evidently such a front was set up; but nevertheless, after only one month, Rotman capitulated to the Histadrut wage demands. The private contractors, on the other hand, "negotiated" (that is to say, stalled payment) until the fall of the same year, and when they finally agreed, they paid only 5 per cent during September, October and Novem-

ber. This gave them a considerable financial edge over Solel Boneh.

Then two years ago, Rotman was hit by two personal tragedies: the death of his wife and his heart attack. Instead of throwing in the towel and taking early retirement, he continued to fight to run the ailing Solel Boneh from his sickbed, for he was a fighter both by instinct and long practice.

But this time all the problems he had to face came together with overpowering effect: The loss of income from abroad from Solel Boneh International (which was not his fault); the lack of long-term, low-interest working capital (which was not his fault); the shrinking building industry (which was not his fault); the Histadrut's emphasis on permanent Jewish and Israeli Arab workers in preference to lower-paid Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza District—a policy to which he agreed. To all this must be added his own mistakes, as noted above. He lost this fight.

This is the fifth and final article of a series.



Shragai Rotman, former head of Solel Boneh

(Israel Sun)

ONE OF the issues in dispute between Yitzhak Moda'i (when Finance Minister) and the Labour Party was the universality of social services, which Moda'i opposed. His argument was this: do not subsidize everyone, subsidize only the poor.

It is a revolutionary statement. It strikes at the root of free education, free health services, tax-free family allowances, tax-free pensions. There is a welfare-state philosophy behind the growth of these benefits, based on the assumption that things can be had for free. That is an error. Nothing is free, everything has to be paid for.

The question is: Who does the paying? The rich of course, through the tax system. Unfortunately, welfare services grow year by year until by now they need more money than the tax system can supply. The problem has become particularly acute since the world economic slowdown. Production per capita has stopped growing—in nearly all countries—during the last decade.

In Israel the situation is worse. Defence expenditure has been expanding by 7 per cent per annum, leaving a smaller and smaller amount of resources for civilian use. The conclusion to be drawn is: Stop this crazy social-welfare free-for-all. And it is crazy. Moda'i's proposal to tax pensions aroused a furor—but why? The person who makes do with a national insurance pension and has nothing else is not taxed anyway. Taxed are people with a taxable income. If two people earn NIS 3,000 a month, they should be taxed equally, never mind the source of the money, pension or other.

Pensions should not be privileged, only poverty should. Welfare funds should be devoted to those in need. We have said that welfare has to be financed by the rich through the tax

Nothing is free

PURSE-STRINGS
David Krivine

system. Giving welfare to the rich is equivalent to reducing their tax burden—which is the last thing that apostles of social justice would wish to see.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
Yoram Gabbai, deputy commissioner of Internal Revenue at the Treasury, supports "selectivity" as against "universality" in the distribution of social benefits—but not in the supply of social services. He explains this distinction in an article due to be published shortly by the *Economic Quarterly*.

The basis of his argument is a comparison of Canada and the U.S. Canada has a national health service, the U.S. does not. Higher education in Canada is cheap (\$900 a year) for everybody, rich and poor alike. In America the state universities are cheap, but the private universities charge up to \$11,000 per year.

Canada thus carries a relatively heavier burden of social expenditure. On the other hand, Gabbai points out, it has created a more equitable society.

Medical treatment of outstanding quality is available in the U.S. Not for the poor, however, who have to put up with second best. The principle of second-best applies to higher education as well. If a poor boy without means is brilliant he will get



No student pays the full cost of higher education (Hebrew University)

to Harvard. But a youngster of average talents will not because he cannot afford it.

Students at the great universities in the U.S. rate higher salaries when they graduate, which perpetuates economic inequality. That is a denial, Gabbai says, of the equal opportunity principle. His conclusion: equality is best after all. The so-called "Sharap" system must not be allowed to develop in Israel's hospitals. It supplies quicker surgery by chosen specialists against a fee. Its extension will create two levels of medical treatment, depending on income.

Charging the full cost of higher education (except for scholarship boys) will chase those who cannot afford it (and cannot win a scholarship) away from the universities. They will either do without academic studies altogether, or will utilize

lower-grade colleges and courses that will spring up to supply their requirements on the cheap.

Gabbai therefore supports the status quo in Israel's universities. In the health field he suggests a different fee-collecting system: a smaller monthly payment but the imposition of a charge for visits to the doctors. Hospitalization would remain free for all, with no Sharap.

The reason is that people decide whether to visit the doctor and they go too frequently (twice as often as in the advanced Western countries). But the doctor decides whether they should be hospitalized.

I would like to suggest a different arrangement. The tax office should give every citizen an income classification each year, based on his earnings in that year. The Sharap fee should not only be retained, it should be extended to all patients

with a partial or total refund for those who rate it according to their income classification.

All students should pay full university fees (\$2,500 or whatever), with scholarships available—but the criterion for a scholarship should not be academic brilliance, it should be income classification.

Under this system there would still be one medical system for all and one higher education system for all, but the fees would be graded. At present all students pay, let us say, one-third of the true cost of their studies. Under my system only the lower-middle income students would pay one-third.

The upper-middle income students would pay two-thirds, and the rich would pay the lot. The poor and needy would be charged only a small fee—perhaps 10 per cent—that they can afford.

TORTUOUS POLICIES
Likud ministers voted against summer time at last Sunday's cabinet meeting. The public will find that hard to swallow. Quite plainly the politicians' decision was not based on the merits of the case. Likudniks are just as aware as anybody else (including two observant members of the Cabinet) that not moving the clock ahead is against the public interest.

They voted against their conscience. Judging by the fact that only four of them were present to express their view on this subject, it can be presumed that they knew they would be outvoted. In that way they got the best of both worlds, satisfying the man-in-the-street while buttering up the religious parties.

It may be clever coalition politics, but it puts a black mark on the Likud's record for honesty. Supporting reactionary measures for some tortuous tactical advantage is what gives politicians a bad name.

Morocco's fading phosphate dream

By PAUL ELLMAN / Rabat

THE DAZZLING festivities laid on recently to mark the 25th anniversary of King Hassan's accession to the Moroccan throne had as their central theme the "recuperation" of the Western Sahara.

The Moroccan claim to the former Spanish colony was justified through the obscure arguments concerning acts of allegiance by the territory's inhabitants to the king's namesake, Hassan I, in the late 19th century. But, when Moroccan troops marched into the Western Sahara to fill the gap left by the departing Spanish in 1976, it was more a question of phosphates than fealty that lay behind the annexation.

Morocco was already the world's biggest exporter of phosphates and by adding the Western Sahara to his kingdom, Hassan gained control of an estimated 75 per cent of the world's known deposits of the mineral, which is vital to the manufacture of fertilizers.

Morocco, which even today has an official annual per capita income of \$800, looked poised to use phosphates to generate the wealth oil had provided elsewhere in the Arab world.

But, the dream was to remain unfulfilled and the annexation of the Western Sahara to turn into a drain on the Moroccan economy which foreign analysts now estimate to be running at \$1 billion a year.

Morocco remains the world's biggest phosphate exporter and its third biggest producer, after the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

But, world over-production has prompted a sharp fall in prices since Hassan took over the western Sahara. Prices for phosphate rock have dropped from their all-time high of \$56 a ton in 1975 to only \$35 today.

Moulay Zine Zahidi, the Moroccan economy minister, notes that phosphates are "primordial" in his country's foreign exchange earnings, accounting for 40 per cent of all export revenues and providing 25,000 jobs.

THE MINISTER sees the future as developing more phosphate-

producing capacity inside Morocco to add more value to its exports and said that a fifth complex to be opened shortly will allow for 30 per cent of all phosphate exports to be derivatives rather than ore.

"Moroccan refined products will be cheaper than those refined elsewhere," he said.

However, a recent slump in world prices for phosphate derivatives, particularly phosphoric acid, have raised doubts as to whether the goal is attainable in the near future. The new acid complex, built at Jorf Lasfar at a cost of \$1 billion, may prove unprofitable, foreign analysts argue, unless prices increase for phosphoric acid and also fall for the sulphur which has to be brought in for its other product, sulphuric acid.

Meanwhile, Moroccan officials report that the vast phosphate mine at Bou Cra's in the western Sahara, which sits atop 1.7 million cubic metres of phosphate ore is being kept open only for reasons of prestige and because of the jobs it provides.

The Bou Cra's mine was reopened at vast expense in 1982 after its installations and a conveyor belt that runs to the coast, were wrecked by guerrillas of the Polisario Front which is fighting Morocco's annexation and wants an independent Western Sahara.

Zahidi says that, in the circumstances, phosphates are "doing well" and has managed to prevail upon Morocco's creditors to agree to a re-scheduling of the country's \$12b. external debt, the equivalent of 100 per cent of its annual gross domestic product. Before the rescheduling was agreed Morocco faced paying 33 per cent of its GDP last year in debt servicing. This has now been reduced to a little under 13 per cent of GDP.

Phosphates will continue to play a central role in coping with the external debt, with production being increased to compensate for lower prices.

(Observer Business Service)

Tax exemption (with restrictions) on certain loans

By JEFF BROIDE

BROADLY speaking, companies may finance their operations by raising funds from three sources: the issue of shares; loans from shareholders; borrowing funds in the open market.

If a shareholder not resident in Israel makes a loan in a foreign currency to an Israeli company, any exchange loss suffered by the company in repaying the loan in foreign currency is recognized as an expense for income tax purposes, and the exchange loss is not taxable in the hands of the non-resident shareholder in terms of Section 9 (15) of the

Income Tax Ordinance.

On the other hand, if an Israeli made a loan to his company in Israel and linked the loan to the consumer-price-index to ensure that he received "value" for his money, on repayment of the loan he was taxed on the so-called "inflationary gain" or "linkage difference." This was a distinct anomaly in the tax structure.

A recent amendment to the Income Tax Ordinance (effective from the 1985 tax year) allows a tax exemption of 90 per cent of the linkage difference and interest on shareholders' loans, provided that the com-

pany has kept proper books and that the shareholder or relatives of his have not borrowed from the company during the period of the loan more than 10 per cent of the loan or NIS 16,400, whichever is the lower.

HOWEVER, this "benefit" is severely restricted, as follows:

- The exemption is available to individual shareholders only, and

not to corporations or institutions, and applies to private companies only. In addition, the original loan must be made in cash and may not be less than NIS 8,200.

- Repayment of the loan may only be made in the fiscal year following that in which the loan was granted. (The prudent shareholder would do well to consider making such a loan to his company on the last day of the fiscal year, thus limiting the loan period to a minimum.)

- Interest on the loan may only be paid at the end of the loan period.

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Discount responds in bank shares suit

HAIFA (Itim). — The Israel Discount Bank earlier this week filed a defence brief in the Haifa District Court in response to a private suit claiming damages resulting from the bank's regulation of its shares on the stock market, several years ago.

The bank said that "the regulation of certain shares was a customary technique in the securities market, which was employed legally, in coordination with and supervision by authorized state agencies."

The damages claim was filed by Dan and Chana Or of Haifa in January 1985 against the IDB, Bank Hapoalim and Bank Leumi.

They claimed that they had lost \$15,000 due to the illegal manipulation of the bank share quotations. This, they claimed, had resulted from the banks' use of insiders' information to influence the standings of their shares.

Assuch, the plaintiffs claimed, the banks had been guilty of neglecting the interests of their customers and of being involved in a conflict of interests between themselves and their customers.

In another claim filed against the Discount Bank and its managing director, Raphael Recanat, Gil Zarchi of Herzliya is claiming damages of NIS 40m.

Zarchi, an invalid, says that he deposited all his compensation payments, worth \$100,000 at the time, with the Herzliya branch of the Discount Bank.

He says that on June 30, 1983 he asked to have his investment linked to foreign currency. Instead, he says, he discovered that the bank had bought IDB shares on his behalf. When he sought to sell his shares in October 1983, the bank did not implement his sell order; instead, the bank's investment advisers persuaded him not to sell the bank shares.

He has filed against Raphael Recanat personally claiming that it was Recanat who had been responsible for the orders given to the bank's branches to carry out regulation of the bank's shares and to persuade customers not to sell their shares.

The Discount Bank has not yet filed a defence brief.

DEPORTATION

(Continued from Page One)

Baram, however, has indicated that the Israeli government was aware of his involvement in the alleged scheme. He has also warned that he will go public in releasing further "embarrassing" details if the government does not help him.

Baram, who commanded a division before leaving the army in 1980, was fined by the chief of staff for having left his personal weapons in an unauthorized person's custody. When this became known, his capture for a top police post was blocked.

Israeli officials have conceded that Baram was an authorized arms dealer. But they point out that over 1,000 people have such authorization which does not allow one to sell arms. Each deal has to be approved on an individual basis and no such permission was given to Baram.

U.S. prosecutors Rudolph Giuliani and William von Raab said there was no indication of any involvement by the Israeli government in the ring.

Israeli sources said that Armacost had not made any allegations against Israel during his meeting with Rosenne.

The sources said that Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin was still expected to come to Washington as planned in early May for talks with senior U.S. officials on a whole range of issues.

Prime Minister Peres, during his recent visit to Washington, repeatedly denied that there had been any authorized Israeli arms sales to Iran. But other Israeli officials have conceded that private Israeli arms dealers have been involved "on their own" in such sales to Iran.

Fourteen other Americans, Britons, West Germans and Greeks were also named as co-conspirators in the alleged arms ring. The indictment also named two men identified only as "Mr. Hebron" and "Mr. Humpos." Their nationalities were not given.

Most of the weapons to be supplied were supposed to have been smuggled from Israel to Iran, although the U.S. prosecutors noted that the operation was detected before any weapons were actually sent.

According to the indictment, the defendants allegedly obtained "end-user" certificates from Turkey and the Philippines to make it look as if the goods were bound for "friendly" nations.

The weapons described in the arrest complaints as among those to be sold were more than 100 planes, including F-4 phantoms and F-5 (fighters not in service in the Israel Air Force), C-130 Hercules transport planes, Bell helicopters, M-48 tanks, recoilless rifles, TOW anti-tank missiles and Sparrow, AIM, Hawk and Chapparel missiles.

In addition to the five arrested in Bermuda, four others were arrested in New York, and eight people are still being sought. Each faces up to five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine if convicted.

Taking a share of the air charter market

By SASSON JACOBY

With little publicity and fust, Israel this year made a determined stride forward in taking a share of air charters from Europe — specifically from West Germany.

That this is paying off quietly and profitably was evidenced in a recent press tour organized by the enterprises involved — Sun d'Or International Airlines (a charter subsidiary of El Al) and Arkia, working jointly on this project.

It was a brief, on-the-run visit designed to fill reporters in on the workings of this new scheme designed to bring more German and other European visitors to Israel, and to promote Israeli tourism to Europe.

The service is operated to and from five West Germany cities: Frankfurt, Munich, Stuttgart, Hamburg and Cologne, and is handled in Europe by Israel Charter Services (ICS), which was formed by Sun d'Or/Arkia last October.

It has offices in Frankfurt and Munich, run by a small staff, and according to Shmuel Matityahu and Yosef Rosen, heads respectively of Sun d'Or and Arkia, the operation has justified itself and is making rapid progress in the charter business.

The service was given an added boost with the inauguration in March of flights to Hamburg via Cologne, and this was the highlight of the press tour this month.

The reservations of many Israelis about visiting Germany are well known, but this aspect evidently plays little part with our younger generation — for many we saw on our flight from Ben-Gurion Airport were young people.

But the strong point of the charter service is the spread of destinations which offer tourists from both Europe and Israel a wide choice of springboards to other places from Germany.

For instance: Frankfurt — access to central Germany; Munich — to Austria, Italy and Switzerland; Stuttgart — to southern Germany, France and Switzerland; Cologne — to south-west Germany, Belgium and Holland; Hamburg — to north Germany, Berlin and the Scandinavian countries.

We saw this working out on our flight. We flew direct to Cologne with a full payload, about half the

passengers leaving there. Then we took on passengers for Israel who came with us to Hamburg, whence they continued to Israel. At the same time, more passengers came on at Hamburg for the flight to Israel, to fill up the plane.

It proves that the service is convenient to Europeans who comprise 80 per cent of the passengers, with Israelis making up the remainder.

ICS works in close cooperation with S. Pilovsky, El Al's general manager in Germany, in providing services for tourists to Israel from destinations where there are no regular scheduled flights. Sun d'Or/Arkia also operate charter flights to Paris and London.

To date ICS handles 50 per cent of the charter business from Germany — an impressive achievement — compared to 20 per cent previously. In spring there were five flights weekly, but this will rise to about seven this summer.

The Hamburg flights cost \$309. (Until March 31, the price was \$269.) The Cologne flight had cost \$259, rising to \$299 from April 1.

So far the service has brought 5,000 passengers a month from Germany and 1,000 Israelis to Europe. By the time the charters terminate in October, these figures are expected to rise.

But the climax came with the recent inauguration of the Hamburg flights, for these now give travellers from both North Germany and Israel direct access without tiresome change-overs at either Frankfurt or Munich, as is the case with scheduled flights.

The charter services can provide Israelis with short visits to Germany places of interest before going on to other destinations. And there can be no more interesting city to visit than Hamburg, which has been more or less out of reach for most Israelis.

Hamburg's information bureau chief, Horst Volckmann, told us that last year's statistics showed that only

4,500 Israelis were "guests" in his city. Even adding those who visited but were not listed, the figure couldn't have been much more.

Hamburg is well worth a visit, for this great port city of 1,600,000 people, in addition to being an international economic centre, is an architectural delight, has numerous cultural events, is a "green" city and a great shopping centre.

Hamburg calls itself the Free and Hanseatic City and is a city-state, one of the 10 states of the Federal Republic. Situated at the confluence of the Alster and Bille with the great Elbe River, it is about 100 km. from its mouth.

I have seldom seen a city so clean and so bursting with flowers and greenery; and the elegant town houses and shopping centres on the fringes of the Alster are a delight to the eye.

An unusual and little-known fact: Hamburg after World War II became the most important marketing centre in the world for oriental carpets.

The Israeli angle to this: about half of the 3,000 Jewish population of Hamburg is engaged in the carpet business, many of them Israelis of Iranian origin, who by all accounts work amicably with non-Jewish Iranians in the business.

An interesting sidelight of our city tour in Hamburg was our Hebrew-speaking German guide, Victoria von Mongelas, who learned the language after an extended stay in Israel in the 1970s.

She made a point of taking us through neighbourhoods once populated by Jews, including the old synagogue in the Grindel district, which is now a student dormitory. The building was certainly more impressive than the new one put up in 1955, a modern structure with little to speak for itself. We drove past one building which had emblazoned across its front, "Talmud Tora Schule," which we were told is now a school for librarians.

DID YOU KNOW THAT...

the percentage of Arabs in the territories working in agriculture has declined from 39 per cent in 1970 to 25 per cent in 1985, but that the revenue from farming has risen significantly over the period.

New Immigrant

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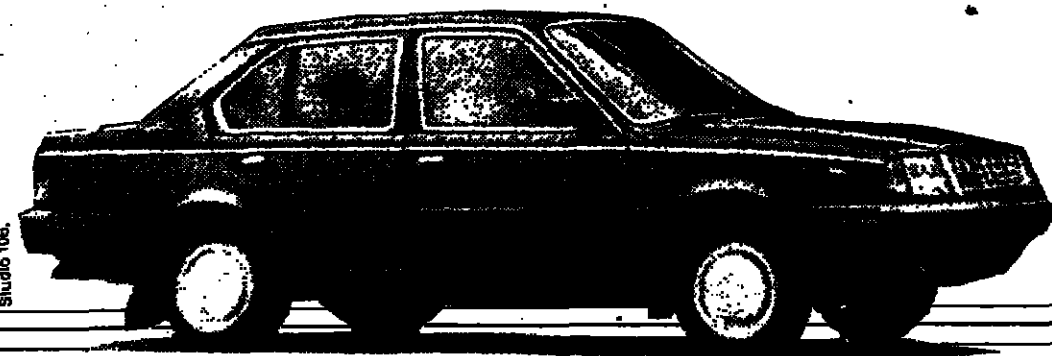
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FINANCIAL DATA: ISRAEL EUROPE U.S.

Israel Money Markets April 24, 1986

SHEKEL INTEREST RATES

PRIME BORROWING RATE: 1.25% per month
Unlinked Deposit (Annual Rates)

	LAST UPDATED	TAPAS	PAKAM 7-DAY	PAKAM 30-DAY
LEUMI	21.4	8-14.75%	8-15.25%	9-14.5%
HAPOLIM	13.3	10-12%	11-12%	12-12.5%
DISCOUNT	8.8	7-13%	7-13%	8-14%
MIZRAHI	6.4	6-13%	6-14%	6-16%
FIRST INT'L	12.3	6-13%	7-13%	6-13%

Rates vary according to size of deposit.

(Tapas: demand deposit paying daily interest.)

Pakam: fixed-term deposit available from 7 to 99 days.)

PATAH — FOREIGN CURRENCY DEPOSIT RATES (as of April 20)

	3-MONTHS	6-MONTHS	12-MONTHS
USD	6.000	6.000	6.000
STG	9.125	8.625	8.250
DMK	3.750	3.875	3.750
SFR	3.500	3.375	3.375
YEN	3.125	3.000	3.000

Rates vary according to size of deposit and are subject to change.

SHEKEL FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES

COUNTRY	CURRENCY	CHEQUES AND TRANSACTIONS	BANKNOTES	BANK OF ISRAEL Representative Rates
U.S.A.	DOLLAR	1.4629	1.4811	1.4728
GREAT BRITAIN	STERLING	2.2251	2.2528	2.2401
GERMANY	MARK	0.6671	0.6754	0.6722
FRANCE	FRANC	0.2023	0.2119	0.2107
HOLLAND	GULDEN	0.5815	0.5888	0.5863
SWITZERLAND	FRANC	0.7958	0.8058	0.8019
SWEDEN	KRONA	0.2069	0.2095	0.2085
NORWAY	KRONE	0.2083	0.2119	0.2110
DENMARK	KRONE	0.1806	0.1829	0.1821
FINLAND	MARK	0.2843	0.2860	0.2863
CANADA	DOLLAR	1.0509	1.0640	1.0579
AUSTRALIA	DOLLAR	1.0679	1.0812	1.0754
SOUTH AFRICA	RAND	0.7300	0.7381	0.7357
BELGIUM	FRANC	0.3228	0.3278	0.3280
AUSTRIA	SCHILLING	0.9518	0.9636	0.9579
ITALY	LIRE	0.9738	0.9888	0.9801
JAPAN	YEN	0.8734	0.8842	0.8790
JORDAN	DINAR	—	—	4.0944
EGYPT	POUND	—	—	4.7879

SUPPLIED BY BANK LEUMI

European Financial Markets

Precious Metals

GOLD:	LONDON	A.M. FIX	345.40	P.M. FIX	346.00
	PARIS	NOON FIX	347.32	ZURICH P.M.	343.80
SILVER:	LONDON	FIX	511.00		
PLATINUM:	LONDON	P.M.	423.25		
PALLADIUM:	LONDON	P.M.	110.70		

FOREIGN CURRENCY CROSS RATES (London 15.30GMT)

	SPOT	3 MTHS	6 MTHS	12 MTHS
DEUTSCHE MARK	2.2000/15	88/83	128/123	255/245
POUND STERLING	1.5340/50	94/82	128/123	221/217
SWISS FRANC	1.9425/40	85/80	120/115	255/245
JAPANESE YEN	168.65/75	58/56	89/88	183/179
FRENCH FRANC	7.0150/00	90/110	120/140	230/260
ITALIAN LIRA	1505.25/25	1550/1675	2200/2350	4150/4400
DUTCH GULDEN	2.4830/48	63/58	90/88	183/175
BELGIAN FRANC	44.850/910	9.57/1.5	11.5/14.5	13/18
DANISH KRONER	8.1325/75	-25/+25	-25/+25	50/150
S.AFRICAN RAND	0.4850/60	38/31	48/43	80/70
EUROPEAN CURRENCY UNIT	0.9785/70	17/12	23/15	32/22
FINNISH MARK	4.9770/80	340/380	495/545	955/1055
AUSTRALIAN DOLLAR	0.7300/07	122/118	173/168	317/311
NORWEGIAN KRONER	6.9480/10	785/805	1155/1175	2320/2360

Formula for determining forward rates:

high/low... (eg. 220/210) — deduct from spot price.

low/high... (eg. 210/220) — add to spot price.

New York Financial Markets

WALL STREET Closing Prices

Dow Jones Indices	1,831.72	+2.11	NYSE Highest Volume	18	+1/4
IND	811.48	-2.33	TELESTATE	24%	-1/4
TRANS	186.85	-0.77	ATT	11%	-1/4
UTILS	139.46	+0.12	FIN CP AM	157%	+2 1/2
NYSE COMP	381.52	+2.47	IBM	3%	-1/4
NASD COMP	232.81	+0.78	P SVC NM	3%	+1/4
S-P 100 INDEX	242.02	+0.27	MANVILLE	28%	unch
S-P COMPOSITE	273.13	+1.54	SEALAND	24%	+1 1/4
AMEX INDEX			UNION CARB	33%	+1/4
			BLACK DEC	24	+1/2

Statistics

NYSE	VOL. 146,171,185	STOCKS UP	800	DOWN	791
NASDAQ	VOL. 125,042,300	STOCKS UP	886	DOWN	1219

Comment

WALL STREET STOCKS STAY HIGHER IN AFTERNOON. — Wall Street stocks stayed higher, with IBM and other technology issues leading a recovery after two down sessions, analysts said.

IBM jumped 2% to 157 1/4. Traders noted persistent rumors of a share buyback. IBM had no comment.

The Dow Jones Industrial Average gained eight points to 1838. Advances led declines by a small margin on volume of 115 million shares.

Texasco advanced 1/4 to 33 1/2. Pennzoil said it will review a new settlement offer from Texasco. Terms were not disclosed.

ISRAELI STOCKS Traded in New York:

NYSE and ASE

	Last	Prev. Close	High	Low	Vol ('00s)
Alliance	—	2	—	—	—
Am Int Pap	11	11 1/4	11	11	41
Ampel	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	29
Elect	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	2 1/2	114
Elavud	13	13 1/4	13 1/4	13	15
Laser Inds	15 1/2	15 1/2	15 1/2	15 1/2	189

Over the counter

	last	bid	ask		last	bid	ask
Bank Leumi	9 1/4	9 1/4	9 3/4	Interpharm	—	—	5 1/2
Elit	6 1/4	6 1/4	6 1/2	Orotch	8 1/4	8 1/4	8 1/2
ECI Tel.	8	7 3/4	8	Rada	—	—	9 1/4
Elron	10 1/2	10 1/2	10 3/4	Schex	6 1/2	6 1/2	6 3/4
Fibronics	—	—	—	Taro-vit	—	—	3 1/4
IDB Bank	4 1/4	4 1/4	4 1/2	Tevapharm	—	—	3 1/4
IS	—	—	—	SPI	6 1/2	6 1/2	7

U.S. Money Rates

Prime 8.50%; Broker 7.75%; NY Euros 3 months 6 1/4% to 3%; Fed Funds 6 1/4%

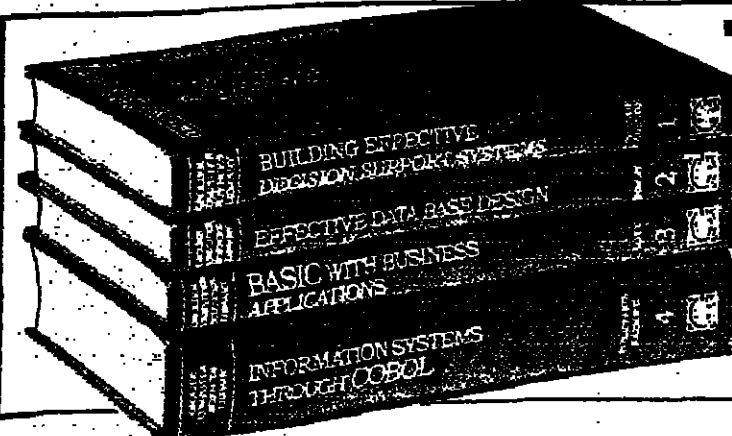
New York Foreign Exchange

	DMK	SFR	STG	YEN	CAN
YESTERDAY'S CLOSING	2.1780/95	1.8235/55	1.5385/00	167.50/80	1.3805/10
OPENING	2.1965/75	1.8355/65	1.5340/50	168.70/80	1.3855/60
LATEST	2.1955/65	1.8370/85	1.5370/80	168.45/60	1.3870/75

Comment

DOLLAR STILL BELOW 2.20 MARKS IN NEW YORK. — The dollar continued to trade 2.20 marks after earlier short covering ran its course. A belief the dollar's recent drop was overdone spurred yesterday morning's technical correction. Fears of coordinated Central Bank dollar purchases lingered despite U.S. Secretary of State Schultz's remark that he does not think the U.S. will intervene.

Overseas financial data — from Reuters exclusively to The Jerusalem Post.



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Passing the buck

THE boards of directors of most of the commercial banks involved in the share-rigging scandal known as "regulation," have met to consider the revelations about them and their activities included in the Bejski Commission's report. The results have been far from impressive.

The range of reactions has extended from that of Bank Hapoalim, whose board met to accept the already tendered resignation of Giora Gazit, the bank's senior executive, through those of Banks Leumi and Mizrahi, who took no decisions but went out of their way to stress that their top men, Ernest Japhet and Aharon Meir, acted "on the basis of," or "in line with" board decisions, and extending to that of Bank Discount, whose board will finally deign to consider the report next Monday, when it has a regular meeting scheduled.

Indeed, there has already been talk of a "counter-offensive" by the banks against the Bejski Commission recommendations against them. Yet the claim that the report's findings contain nothing new is, unfortunately, only another attempt at misinformation on this issue on the part of the banks. The list of laws transgressed by the banks in their "regulation" activities, and the details of these infractions, are new and all too shocking for most people, even if they "knew" about the "regulation" as a general phenomenon.

Furthermore, the attempt by the boards of Leumi and Mizrahi to cover the role of their senior executive merely poses the broader question as to whether those board directors in office during the years of "regulation" should not, themselves, take their share of the responsibility for its outcome.

The Bejski report itself devotes an entire chapter to what it calls the "brakes" - those entities that should have served, within the corporate structure, as checks and balances to the policies of the management. These brakes include the public accountants and the internal auditors, but foremost among them are the directors, individually and collectively.

The report, however, finds that the boards had little or no knowledge of the methodology and scale of the "regulation," and that even when they signed their firms' prospectuses, they were acting, and being used, as rubber stamps. After several pages of the most damning summary of the activities - more correctly, inactivity - of the boards, the report makes the following conclusion: "In everything pertaining to the 'regulation,' the boards failed totally and were proven as absolutely worthless."

Instead of extending a protective umbrella to their managers, the boards would be better advised to improve their own functioning first. This process began last year, when Histadrut secretary-general Yisrael Kessar shook up the bloated and ineffectual boards of the Hevrat Ovdim companies, starting with Bank Hapoalim. In the light of the Bejski recommendations, there is an urgent need to extend this process from the quantitative and formal composition of bank boards, to their qualitative and functional make-up.

WALDHEIM

(Continued from Page One)

ported war criminals who could not be identified, and "W" for witnesses. Waldheim's classification would have required his extradition to Yugoslavia by the occupying forces in Austria in the late 1940s. But the demise of the UN War Crimes Commission soon after, as one by-product of the growing Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union might have relieved the pressure on Waldheim, as it did for thousands of other accused war criminals.

Wednesday's Washington Post reported that Waldheim had been involved in directing retaliations against Yugoslav partisans. The Post said Yugoslav officials quoted a Johann Mayer who said Waldheim had been deputy to the German Army's Group E-commander and that "it was up to him to bring up suggestions concerning reprisal actions."

According to Mayer, people killed at Sarejevo in November 1944 "were executed according to the order given by Waldheim in retaliation," said the Post.

Waldheim has denied the account several times, saying that Mayer was unreliable because he was later con-

victed of crimes in Austria. Rudolph Stajduhar, a Yugoslav national who served as Waldheim's spokesman at the UN for much of the 1970s, and who is a senior fellow at the United Nations Institute of Training and Rehabilitation in New York, said, "I was very surprised when the revelations of his role in Yugoslavia during the war came out because, as his spokesman, I had worked on his official biography, and believed his contention that his active military service during the war ended when he was wounded on the Eastern Front in 1941."

Stajduhar, who was a partisan in the communist forces of Josef Broz Tito during World War II, said that Waldheim had told him that he had never been in Yugoslavia until he had visited Tito there as Austrian foreign minister during the late 1960s.

In Israel, President Herzog has stated that documents which Ambassador to the UN Binjamin Netanyahu read in the UN archives contained evidence against Waldheim which was apparently incriminating. Herzog's comment was made in an interview for Educational Television's *Erev Hadash*, to be broadcast at 4 p.m. today.

WESTERN EUROPE

(Continued from Page One)

explicitly defied American calls for action against Libya is Greece, whose Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu yesterday rejected diplomatic sanctions. He said that Libyan involvement in terrorism was unproven. He said that "not one shred of proof" had been submitted to the EEC members regarding that alleged involvement.

The U.S. State Department yesterday expressed puzzlement at Papandreu's refusal to implement European Community measures against Libya.

"We find it difficult to understand how any country privy to recent discussions among allies and among other European nations could now fail to implement the agreed EC

measures," spokesman Charles Redman said when asked about Papandreu's stance.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on Wednesday expressed Soviet "sympathy and solidarity" with Libya but refrained from making explicit pledges of help. Western diplomats said that the foreign minister's statement might indicate a readiness by Moscow to increase arms supplies to Libya but that it would go no further than that in helping Tripoli.

Libya yesterday reported that Soviet warships were currently visiting three Libyan ports.

The commander of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean met with the chief of staff of the Libyan navy on Thursday afternoon aboard the Soviet cruiser Drozd, according to the Libyan News Agency, cited by AFP.

According to *Jane's*, the Drozd is equipped with sea-to-sea missiles.

Of cheek and gall and banks

SHLOMO MAOZ

Of all Israel's commercial banks, the Bejski commission report issued last week, saves its most withering criticism for Bank Mizrahi.

The actions for which Bank Mizrahi is censured derive from the regulation of the prices of its own shares, but are not limited to it. For regulation spawned, by its own logic, an entire structure of misconduct. The other banks too were caught up in such a malignant entanglement, but Bank Mizrahi, according to the report, surpassed them.

In following the Bejski commission's description of Bank Mizrahi's errant ways, it is possible to understand how the entire system of banking procedures became corrupted.

When, for example, a stockbroker, fearing a crash in the price of bank shares, applied to Mizrahi to sell a large block of shares in the bank, Mizrahi officials persuaded him to hold back by giving him an option to sell his shares to the bank at the previous day's price. After the crash, on October 6, 1983, the bank was, therefore, forced to buy the broker's shares at the old price, and at a cost of \$8 million.

Apart from harming the bank, this verbal agreement with the broker never made its way into the bank books. It was not the only one. As a result Mizrahi, in this way, evaded the constraints on guarantees and liquidity imposed by the Bank of Israel.

Mizrahi's celebrated interest in acquiring Fibi, which controlled the First International Bank, also depended on the accepted procedures of share manipulation. Mizrahi and its general manager Aharon Meir were ready to pay \$150 million which was above and beyond the book value of Fibi shares.

The deal was never consummated only because then Finance Minister Yoram Aridor blocked it. The ex-

orbitant price was not the reason, nor did it worry Mizrahi because it was going to pay by scooping up more money from new issues of its own inflated shares.

The Bejski commission notes that while everyone understood there was something amiss in the regulation practice, bank managers, and other brokers, had a vested and personal interest in sustaining it, because they owned or managed vast numbers of such bank shares. Ending the regulation of bank share prices would have inflicted huge financial losses on these individuals.

Regulation especially favoured those who had inside information. Thus fundamental principles of corporate law regarding the obligations of trust, as well as the requirements of the Securities Law, were violated by the misuse of inside information.

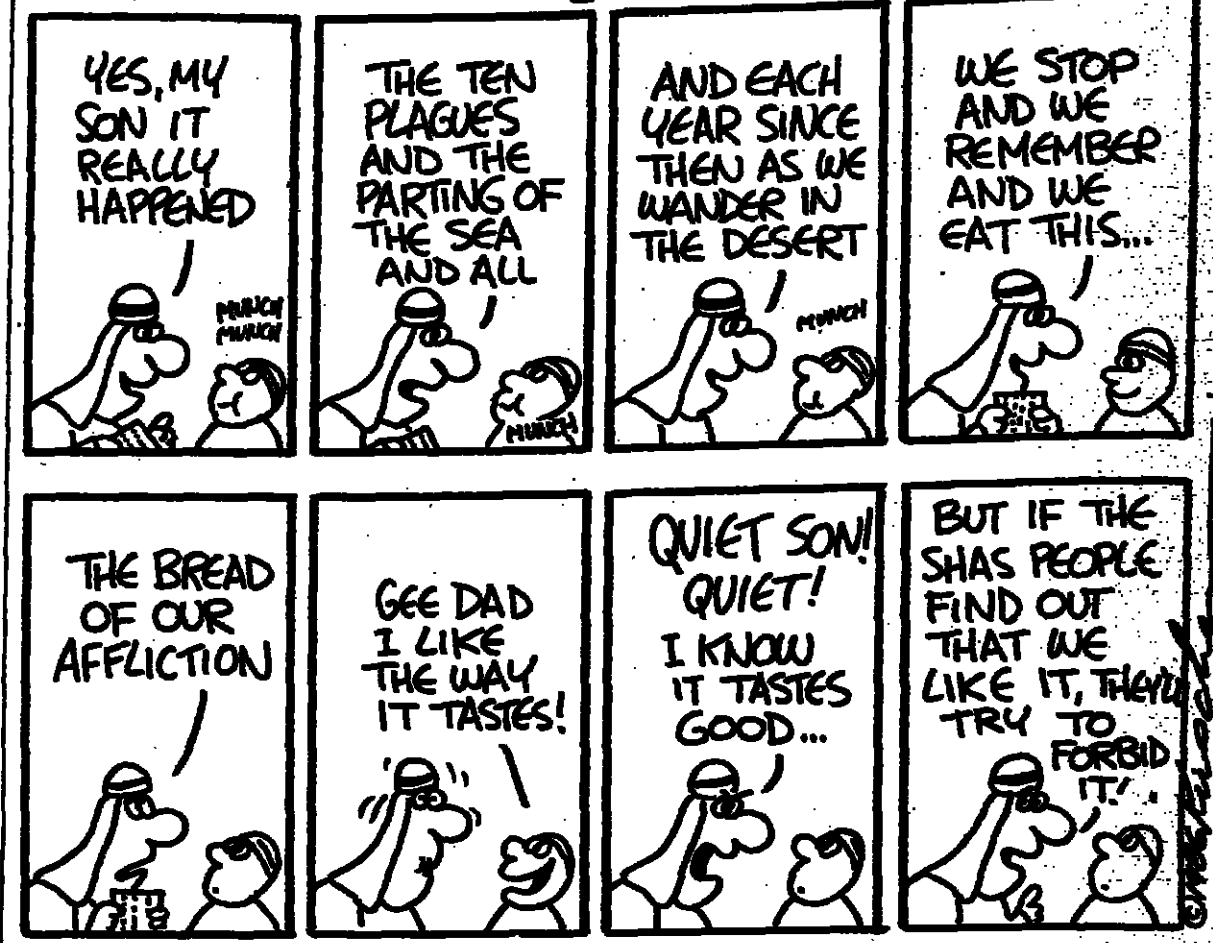
Mizrahi employees received loans from their bank to buy its shares when they were issued. They had a stake, therefore, in maintaining the value of their investments, by means of the regulation practice.

Another instance of conflict of interest cited in the report was Bank Mizrahi's purchase of Bank Tefahot shares. The purpose was to prevent Tefahot shares from falling, which would have caused losses to the mutual funds managed by Mizrahi.

The bank also set up a network of straw companies overseas to help finance the price regulation of its own shares. On April 7, 1982, Mizrahi, using a front company called Baman that belonged to the Kibbutz Hada'at Movement, bought control of a Dutch company called Orglo B.V. Orglo then became the bank's primary agent for buying and selling its own shares as part of the regulation activities.

At its peak, Orglo had borrowed

The Friday Dry Bones



\$90 million for investment in Bank Mizrahi shares. All the loans had come from the Mizrahi group itself - either from its Israeli branches, or from its outlet in the Cayman Islands.

As the massive purchases of September-October 1983 mounted, Orglo almost reached the point of owing 10 per cent of Mizrahi's equity. This would have made it liable by law to report its position as an "interested party" in the bank.

To prevent that, Mizrahi arranged that \$13.5 million of Orglo's Mizrahi shares would be purchased by a Swiss-registered company named Chimesra. That purchase was funded by the bank itself.

The Bejski report says that Mizrahi gave contradictory explanations about the Chimesra deal, and that none were satisfactory.

As with other straw companies, Mizrahi knew that Orglo would not be able to meet its obligations if anything went wrong, and that these obligations would devolve upon the bank itself. By law, therefore, these transactions should have appeared in the bank's balance sheets, but they never did.

Mizrahi also misused funds earmarked for its provident funds. The bank's investment subsidiary raised funds by selling special bonds to the provident funds. These issues required approval of the Treasury's Commissioner for the Capital Market. But none of the requests made to him mentioned that the funds so raised would be used to finance the share regulation. Instead he was told the money would be deposited with Mizrahi itself "for the purpose of advancing loans as part of the bank's regular business."

The accountants for the bank also did not bother to record the practices of regulation on their reports. The Bejski commission recommends that this subject be brought to the Attorney General.

The picture that emerges from the Mizrahi example, and the other banks' practices cited by the Bejski commission, is that Israel's banking-financial system was simply one large bluff. Counselling was insincere, trusteeship over provident funds were abused, profits were only inflated paper values, a free market was reduced to the use of insider information for the personal gain of

top managers, credit was given only under pressure, investors were systematically misled, the rules of the Bank of Israel were mocked, securities given as collateral for credit weren't real securities, but bank shares, fiscal reports were a way of covering up bank obligations... The story is endless.

Everything was a massive facade which came to embrace almost all areas of the Israeli economy. It is hard to see how an entire system that became accustomed to such make believe can return to the straight and narrow.

In the light of all these malpractices, it becomes not only difficult, but impossible to understand, how the bank managers like Aharon Meir of Mizrahi cited by the Bejski report can muster the gumption to let it be known that their resignations are not a foregone conclusion.

As the commission report itself indicates, if indirectly, the only real question the bank managers and the bank boards who have not already resigned should be asking is, who of all the many bank officials and directors involved in the regulation morass could possibly have a right to remain on the job?

The writer is the economic editor of The Jerusalem Post.

READERS' LETTERS

ORTHODOX SUCCESS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - I have been reading Philip Gillon's *Televizyon* for quite a number of years. His column of April 11 clinches my impression of him as a person who would preserve the Jewish identity of Israel by the mere eating of gefilte fish. But time, an almost exclusive Orthodox ally and non-Orthodox yerida, and a high Orthodox birth rate will replace the Philip Gillons.

HILLIAM ROSENBLUM
Rehovot.

PENFRIENDS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Some time ago, I sent you a letter asking you to help me find penfriends in Israel. The time has come to thank you for your successful efforts, as I now have two penfriends in Israel - one in Holon and one in Bnei Brak - who give me a lot of information about your country.

HOLGER MEYER
Hamburg, Germany.

PROBLEMATIC LETTER

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - In his letter of April 11, "Offensive defender," Brad Aaronson states that "Mr. Friedman does not know the Rambam, but neglects the fact that halachic opinions are not always based on one posek's view, but rather on many, and that most *Rishonim* and *Acharonim* disagree with his reading of Maimonides."

Mr. Aaronson's letter was not only problematic for me because I reject his interpretation of Halacha,

ITALIAN SPINELESSNESS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Now, 17 years after the rise of Gaddafi in Libya, Italy is waiting that America's punitive attack on terrorist Libya "will only cause an explosion of fanaticism and extremism." Yet one of Gaddafi's first acts on seizing power was the brutal expulsion, without compensation, of Libya's entire Italian community. The Italian government reacted with

but because of its offensive and arrogant style. First of all, the reference to Gorbachev and Khomeini was a tasteless comparison. Secondly, "Mr. Friedman is an ordained rabbi from the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and possesses a Ph.D. received under the guidance of Professor Louis Ginzberg, one of this century's finest Talmudic scholars." Mr. Klein is an ordained Rabbi from Hebrew Union College.

DAVID H. EBSTEIN
Jerusalem.

hardly a murmur of protest. Italy's attitude towards Libya is a good example of the spinelessness with which the world has previously regarded international terror and fanaticism. The same spinelessness nurtured the rise of Nazi Germany. Thank God, President Reagan's America has finally begun to reverse this trend.

ROY RUNDS
Tel Aviv.

OVER-REACTION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, - Your report of March 21, "Demonstrable proof," (International Edition, April 5) implies that the killing of four students at Kent State University on May 4, 1970 (not the late Sixties, as stated) was by locally controlled police forces.

The killing was done, in fact, by forces of the Ohio National Guard, a unit of the Army Reserve, and not by any civilian local police force. The National Guard unit, under its military commanders, was responsible directly to the then-Governor of the State of Ohio, James Rhodes.

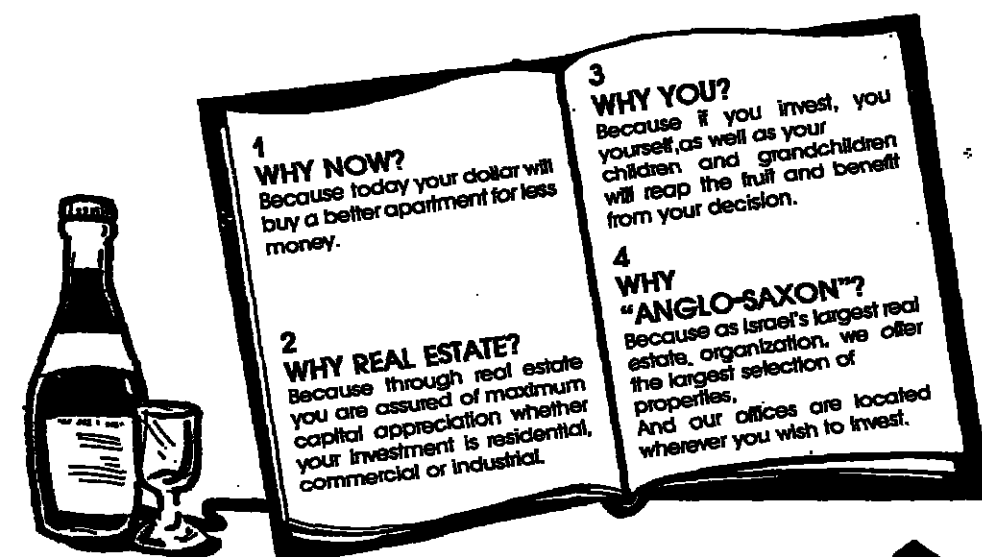
Although this was indeed a clear-cut case of over-reaction, your use of it as an example of "no special units" is entirely incorrect.

WM. D. BENSWANGER
Pittsburgh.

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HEZLIA PIHAI: Kikar Ha'alam, 46 767	052-554443	40 Rehov Sokolov, 47 235	03-474244
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38 Derech Hasharon, 45 323	052-35334	178 Reh. Herzl, Passage Haimon, 76 268	08-452632
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